

National Gallery of Art

CENTER 15

Record of Activities and Research Reports



CENTER 15



National Gallery of Art
CENTER FOR ADVANCED STUDY IN THE VISUAL ARTS

CENTER 15

Record of Activities and Research Reports
June 1994–May 1995

Washington 1995

National Gallery of Art
CENTER FOR ADVANCED STUDY IN THE VISUAL ARTS
Washington, D.C. 20565
Telephone: (202) 842-6480

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DESCRIPTION OF PROGRAMS



The Center for Advanced Study in the Visual Arts was founded in 1979, as part of the National Gallery of Art, to promote study of the history, theory, and criticism of art, architecture, and urbanism through the formation of a community of scholars. This community consists of the Samuel H. Kress Professor, the Andrew W. Mellon Professor, the Andrew W. Mellon Lecturer in the Fine Arts, Senior Fellows, Visiting Senior Fellows, a Curatorial Fellow, Associates, a Postdoctoral Curatorial Fellow, and Predoctoral Fellows. The activities of the Center for Advanced Study, which include the fellowship program, meetings, research, and publications, are privately funded.

FIELDS OF INQUIRY

The Center fosters study of the production, use, and cultural meaning of art and artifacts from prehistoric times to the present. Studies of all the visual arts from a variety of approaches by historians, critics, and theorists of art, as well as by scholars in related disciplines of the humanities and social sciences, are encouraged. The Center also supports studies of the theory, historiography, and criticism of the visual arts, including critical studies leading to the formation of aesthetic theories.

FELLOWSHIP PROGRAM

Samuel H. Kress Professorship

The National Gallery of Art and the Center for Advanced Study in the Visual Arts select annually a distinguished art historian as Samuel H. Kress Professor, a position created by the National Gallery in 1965. Occasionally two scholars are chosen to serve consecutive terms during the same academic year. Traditionally the Kress Professor counsels Predoctoral Fellows in their dissertation research. The Kress Professor is the senior member of the Center.

Andrew W. Mellon Professorship

The National Gallery of Art and the Center for Advanced Study in the Visual Arts select biennially a distinguished academic or museum professional as Andrew W. Mellon Professor, a position created in 1994. Scholars are chosen to serve two consecutive academic years and are free to pursue independent research.



Paul Mellon, Ailsa Mellon Bruce, and Samuel H. Kress Senior Fellowships

Senior Fellowships are awarded without regard to the age or nationality of applicants. Senior Fellowships are limited to those who have held the Ph.D. for five years or more or who possess a record of professional accomplishment at the time of application. Awards usually are made for the academic year. The Center will consider dividing the fellowship period into single terms to be held in two consecutive calendar years. Awards for one academic term are also possible. Senior Fellows must reside in the Washington area during the fellowship period, which normally runs from early fall to late spring, and are expected to participate in the activities of the Center. The Center is able to consider requests for alternative periods of residence in response to individual needs. Senior Fellows may not hold other appointments while in residence at the Center.

Senior Fellowship grants are based on individual need. The award will be limited generally to one-half the applicant's annual salary with the expectation that applicants will bring sabbatical stipends or research grants from their home institutions. In addition to a stipend, each Senior Fellow receives round-trip travel funds; a supplemental allowance for local expenses; and a research allowance for

photographs, slides, and microfilms. A study is provided for each Senior Fellow. Limited travel funds are available for attendance at a professional meeting.

The application deadline for the Senior Fellowship program is 1 October. Each candidate must submit ten sets of all materials, including an application form with a project proposal, three publications, biographical data, and a financial statement. The application must be supported by three letters of recommendation.

Frese Senior Research Fellowship

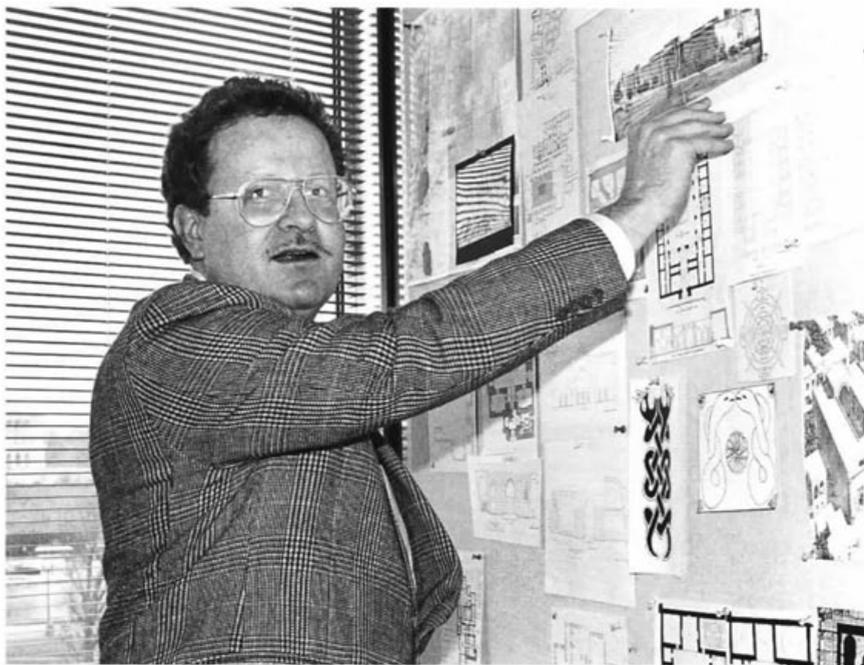
The Frese Senior Research Fellowship is intended for a German citizen who has held the Ph.D. for five years or more or who possesses a record of professional accomplishment at the time of application. The applicant may be preparing a *Habilitationsschrift* or pursuing a career in a museum or a historic monuments commission in Germany. A Frese Senior Fellowship will be awarded annually for an academic year, early fall to late spring, and may not be postponed or renewed. The fellowship is for full-time research. An application form is required, and ten sets of all materials, including application form, proposal, and copies of selected pertinent publications, must be forwarded by the deadline of 1 October of the year prior to the fellowship.

Paul Mellon and Ailsa Mellon Bruce Visiting Senior Fellowships

The Center awards Visiting Senior Fellowships for a residence period of a maximum of sixty days during the year, in two periods: (A) September through February, and (B) March through August. Qualifications and conditions of appointment are the same as those for Senior Fellowships. Each Visiting Senior Fellow receives a stipend that includes travel, research, and housing expenses. Each Fellow is provided with a study and other privileges while in residence at the Center. The application deadlines are 21 March for period A and 21 September for period B. Candidates for Visiting Senior Fellowships should submit five sets of all materials. Two letters of recommendation in support of the application are needed, but submission of publications is not required.

Inter-American Development Bank and The Andrew W. Mellon Foundation Visiting Senior Research Fellowship

The Inter-American Development Bank and The Andrew W. Mellon Foundation Visiting Senior Research Fellowship for scholars from Latin America is intended for scholars from Mexico, the Caribbean, and Central and South America. The



fellowship includes a period of two months at the Center for research in Washington libraries and collections, followed by an additional two months of travel to visit collections, libraries, and other institutions in the United States. The applicant must hold appropriate degrees in the field and/or possess a record of professional accomplishment. Knowledge of English is required. Applications will be considered on 21 March for appointments during the period September–February and on 21 September for appointments during the period March–August. A complete application includes the following: an application form, a two- to four-page research proposal, a tentative schedule of travel in the United States, a curriculum vitae, and two letters of recommendation to be forwarded by the appropriate deadline. Two Visiting Senior Research Fellowships will be awarded annually.

Association of Research Institutes in Art History Fellowship for Scholars from Latin America

The general purpose of the Association of Research Institutes in Art History (ARIAH), incorporated in 1988, is to promote scholarship within institutes of advanced research in the history of art and related disciplines. ARIAH's fellowship program is intended for advanced study by scholars and museum professionals

from Mexico, the Caribbean, and Central and South America. Recipients of the ARIAH fellowship will spend the first two months of the fellowship in residence at one of eighteen ARIAH institutions housing the collections and resources relevant to their research. For the next one to two months, recipients will travel to additional institutions, collections, and research centers to pursue study. The application deadline is November for fellowships in the following year, within the period 1 June–31 May. A complete application includes the following: curriculum vitae, description of the research project (750–1,000 words); preferred dates of residence and tentative schedule of travel; and two letters of reference. Applicants are also asked to indicate which institution(s) houses the collections and resources most valuable for the proposed research project. Applications will be made directly to ARIAH, Center for Advanced Study in the Visual Arts. Four fellowships will be awarded annually. This program is supported with grants from the J. Paul Getty Grant Program, the Lampadia Foundation, and The Andrew W. Mellon Foundation.

Ailsa Mellon Bruce National Gallery of Art Sabbatical Curatorial Fellowship

One Fellowship is reserved for a qualified art historian who has served at least three years in a department of the National Gallery, and who holds the Ph.D. or a record of professional achievement at the time of application. Curatorial





Fellows may obtain leave for six months or more away from the Gallery to pursue independent research unrelated to Gallery projects. The application deadline is 1 October. Candidates submit a proposal and an application form similar to that for a Senior Fellowship, but with only two publications required.

Associate Status

The Center may appoint Associates who have obtained awards from other granting institutions. These appointments are without stipend and can be made for periods ranging from one month to an academic year. Qualifications and conditions are the same as those for Visiting Senior Fellowships and Senior Fellowships. The application deadline for Associate appointments for a full year or a single academic term is 1 October, and the procedures are the same as those for Senior Fellowships. Applications will also be considered on 21 September for appointments of less than one academic term during the period March–August and on 21 March for appointments of less than one academic term during the period September–February. For short-term applications, procedures are the same as those for Visiting Senior Fellowships.

Samuel H. Kress Postdoctoral Curatorial Fellowship

One Postdoctoral Curatorial Fellowship is available each year to a fellow who has held the Samuel H. Kress or Mary Davis Predoctoral Fellowship. Kress or Davis Fellows may apply for a Postdoctoral Curatorial Fellowship if the dissertation has been approved by 1 June of the second fellowship year. A letter to this effect from the primary advisor must be received by this date. The candidate must have graduated or received a certificate of degree by 1 September. During this twelve-month appointment the fellow is associated with an appropriate Gallery department and pursues curatorial work while preparing the dissertation for publication.

Predoctoral Fellowships

The Center awards a number of one-, two-, and three-year fellowships to Ph.D. candidates in any field of art history who have completed their university residence requirements, course work, and general or preliminary examinations. Students must have certification in two foreign languages. Certain fellowships are designated for research in specific fields. Others require a twelve-month period of residency at the Center that may include participation in a curatorial research project at the National Gallery. Applicants must be either United States citizens or enrolled in a university in the United States.

Application for the National Gallery Predoctoral Fellowships at the Center may be made only through graduate departments of art history and other appropriate departments, under the sponsorship of departmental chairs. The application deadline is 15 November. Fellowship grants begin on 1 September each year and are not renewable. All contact should be between the departmental chair and the Center for Advanced Study. Nomination forms will be sent to departmental chairs during the summer prior to the autumn deadline.

Further Information about Tenure and Application

Members may not apply for other Center fellowships while an application is pending or once a fellowship has been awarded. The award itself is not renewable and may not be postponed. Visiting Senior Fellows may receive an award in three consecutive years but thereafter must wait three years before reapplying to the Center. Holders of Senior Fellowships and Associate appointments for two terms may reapply after an interval of five years. Holders of one-term appointments may reapply after three years. National Gallery Curatorial Fellows may reapply after five years. Appropriate application forms for fellowships and Associate appointments may be obtained by writing to the Center for Advanced Study in



the Visual Arts, National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C. 20565. Further information about these fellowships may be obtained from the Assistant to the Fellowship Program: (202) 842-6482.

FACILITIES

The offices, seminar room, and individual studies of the Center are located in the East Building of the National Gallery of Art. These facilities are always available, as is the library of over two hundred thousand volumes. The Gallery's collections, photographic archives, and other services are accessible during regular business hours. Members of the Center also have access to other libraries in the Washington area, including the Library of Congress, the Folger Shakespeare Library, Dumbarton Oaks, and the libraries and collections of the various museums of the Smithsonian Institution. Luncheon is available for fellows and staff in the National Gallery refectory on weekdays.

PROGRAM OF MEETINGS

The Center sponsors programs of regular and special meetings throughout the academic year. Meetings held at regular intervals include colloquia presented by the senior members of the Center and shoptalks given by Predoctoral Fellows. Art historians and other scholars at universities, museums, and research institutes in the Washington area are invited to participate in these gatherings. Periodic meetings involving participants from the local, national, and international community of scholars include seminars, symposia, conferences, lectures, *incontri*, and the curatorial colloquy. Such gatherings, along with the Center's weekly luncheon and tea, annual reception in honor of the new members, and annual introductory meeting with the curatorial departments of the National Gallery, encourage formal and casual exchange among the members and help stimulate critical discourse among scholars in advanced research in the history of art and related disciplines.

A list of the meetings held at the Center in 1994–1995 may be found on pages 26–35.

PUBLICATION PROGRAM

Reports by members of the Center for Advanced Study are published annually (see pages 41–127 for reports written by members in 1994–1995).

Papers presented at symposia sponsored by the Center are often gathered and published in the symposium series of the National Gallery's Studies in the History of Art. Twenty-six symposium volumes have appeared to date: *Macedonia and Greece in Late Classical and Early Hellenistic Times* (Volume 10); *El Greco: Italy and Spain* (Volume 13); *Claude Lorrain, 1600–1682: A Symposium* (Volume 14); *Pictorial Narrative in Antiquity and the Middle Ages* (Volume 16); *Raphael before Rome* (Volume 17); *James McNeill Whistler: A Reexamination* (Volume 19); *Retaining the Original: Multiple Originals, Copies, and Reproductions* (Volume 20); *Italian Medals* (Volume 21); *Italian Plaquettes* (Volume 22); *The Fashioning and Functioning of the British Country House* (Volume 25); *Winslow Homer* (Volume 26); *Cultural Differentiation and Cultural Identity in the Visual Arts* (Volume 27); *Nationalism in the Visual Arts* (Volume 29); *The Mall in Washington, 1791–1991* (Volume 30); *Urban Form and Meaning in South Asia: The Shaping of Cities from Prehistoric to Precolonial Times* (Volume 31); *New Perspectives in Early Greek Art* (Volume 32); *Michelangelo Drawings* (Volume 33); *The Architectural Historian in America* (Volume 35); *The Pastoral Landscape* (Volume 36); *American Art around 1900* (Volume 37); *The Artist's Workshop* (Volume 38); *Eius Virtutis Studiosi: Classical and Postclassical Studies in Memory of Frank Edward Brown* (Volume 43); *Intellectual Life at the Court of Frederick II Hohenstaufen* (Volume 44); *Titian 500* (Volume 45); *Van Dyck 350* (Volume 46);

and *Piero della Francesca and His Legacy* (Volume 48). Papers from five other symposia are in preparation for the series: "The Formation of National Collections of Art and Archaeology," "The Interpretation of Architectural Sculpture in Greece and Rome," "Federal Buildings in Context: The Role of Design Review," "Imagining Modern German Culture: 1889–1910," and "Engraved Gems: Survivals and Revivals."

RESEARCH PROGRAM

In 1982–1983 the Center for Advanced Study in the Visual Arts initiated a program of long-term research projects. One such project, under the direction of the dean and with the support of the Graham Foundation, is intended to provide the Gallery's photographic archives with an exclusive photographic record of pre-1800 architectural drawings, primarily Italian. To date four of the major drawings collections have been entirely photographed: the Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi, Florence; the Biblioteca Marucelliana, Florence; the Gabinetto Comunale delle Stampe, Rome; and the Royal Institute of British Architects, London. Related to this project is the recent completion of the *Guide to the Description of Architectural Drawings*, by Vicki Porter and Robin Thornes, published by the Getty Art History Information Program in 1994, in collaboration with the Architectural Drawings Advisory Group and the Foundation for Documents of Architecture.

A second research project, under the direction of the associate dean and with the support of the Getty Grant Program, is the creation of an illustrated historical dictionary of landscape and garden design terminology. Images and texts from the seventeenth to nineteenth century have been compiled, with the intention of tracking words as they were adapted and transformed in the evolution of an American landscape vocabulary.

BOARD OF ADVISORS AND SELECTION COMMITTEE

A Board of Advisors, comprised of seven art historians appointed with rotating terms, meets annually to consider policies and programs of the Center for Advanced Study in the Visual Arts. The board also serves as a selection committee to review all fellowship applications to the Center. In addition, a member of the curatorial staff of the National Gallery is present during the interview of applicants for Predoctoral Fellowships. The committee forwards recommendations for appointment to the Board of Trustees of the National Gallery of Art.

REPORT ON THE ACADEMIC YEAR

June 1994–May 1995

BOARD OF ADVISORS

Kathleen Weil-Garris Brandt, New York University, Institute of Fine Arts
Elizabeth Broun, National Museum of American Art
Rosalind Krauss, Columbia University
James Marrow, Princeton University
Larry Silver, Northwestern University
Marianna Shreve Simpson, Walters Art Gallery
Andrew Stewart, University of California, Berkeley

STAFF

Henry A. Millon, *Dean*
Therese O'Malley, *Associate Dean*
Gail Feigenbaum, *Acting Associate Dean*

Jill Caskey, *Research Assistant to the Acting Associate Dean*
Francesca Consagra, *Research Assistant to the Dean*
Sabine Eiche, *Senior Research Associate* (Architectural Drawings Project)
Anne Helmreich, *Research Assistant to the Associate Dean*
Elizabeth Kryder-Reid, *Project Associate* (Keywords in American Landscape/
Garden Design)
Pauline Maguire, *Research Assistant to the Samuel H. Kress and Andrew W. Mellon
Professors*
Elizabeth Streicher, *Project Head* (Samuel H. Kress Professors, National Gallery
of Art, 1964–1995)

Deborah A. Gómez, *Assistant to the Fellowship Program*
Elizabeth Kielpinski, *Assistant to the Program of Regular Meetings*
Abby Krain, *Secretary to the Samuel H. Kress and Andrew W. Mellon Professors*
Stephanie Kristich, *Secretary to the Research Program*
Randi Nordeen, *Assistant to the Program of Special Meetings*
Helen Tangires, *Staff Assistant*
David Wittmer, *Secretary to the Samuel H. Kress and Andrew W. Mellon Professors*
(until December 1994)

Curatorial Liaison

Edgar Peters Bowron, *Senior Curator of Paintings*



MEMBERS

Samuel H. Kress Professor, 1994–1995

Jean Sutherland Boggs, Ottawa, Ontario

Andrew W. Mellon Professor, 1994–1996

Elizabeth Cropper, Johns Hopkins University

Andrew W. Mellon Lecturer in the Fine Arts, 1995

Arthur C. Danto, Columbia University

Senior Fellows

Barbara Gaehtgens, Technische Universität, Berlin

Frese Senior Research Fellow, 1994–1995

The Queen's Two Bodies

Richard L. Kagan, Johns Hopkins University

Member of the Center, NEH Fellow, 1994–1995

Urbs and Civitas in Spain and Spanish America, 1500–1750



Ann Kuttner, University of Pennsylvania
Paul Mellon Senior Fellow, 1994–1995
Megalographia: The Great Painted Rooms of the Roman Republic

Fernando Marías, Universidad Autónoma de Madrid
Samuel H. Kress Senior Fellow, 1994–1995
Urbs and Civitas in Spain and Spanish America, 1500–1750

James Naremore, Indiana University
Ailsa Mellon Bruce Senior Fellow, 1994–1995
Film Noir: The History of an Idea

Yasser Tabbaa, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor
Ailsa Mellon Bruce Senior Fellow, 1994–1995
The Medieval Islamic Hospital: Form, Function, and Significance

Patricia Waddy, Syracuse University
Samuel H. Kress Senior Fellow, 1994–1995
Palazzo and Casa in Seventeenth-Century Rome

*Ailsa Mellon Bruce National Gallery of Art Sabbatical Curatorial Fellow
1994–1995*

John Hand
Department of Northern Renaissance Painting
The Paintings of Joos van Cleve

Visiting Senior Fellows

Colin B. Bailey, Kimbell Art Museum
Paul Mellon Visiting Senior Fellow, fall 1994
Patriotic Collecting: Collectors of Modern Art in Paris at the End of the Ancien Régime

María Castro Miranda, Universidad de La Habana
Ailsa Mellon Bruce Latin American Visiting Senior Research Fellow,
summer 1995
*Color-Scheme and Iconography of Mummy Portraits from Roman Egypt (A Contribution
to Their Interpretation and Dating)*

Joseph Connors, Columbia University
Ailsa Mellon Bruce Visiting Senior Fellow, fall 1994
The Architecture of Francesco Borromini (1599–1667)

Giuseppe Dardanello, Università di Torino
Paul Mellon Visiting Senior Fellow, summer 1995
Filippo Juvarra's Altars: Design Process and Building Management

Smiljka Gabelič, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign
Ailsa Mellon Bruce Visiting Senior Fellow, winter 1995
Hagiographical Cycles and the Problem of Their Emergence

Maurizio Gargano, Terza Università di Roma
Paul Mellon Visiting Senior Fellow, fall 1994
Antonio da Sangallo il Vecchio (1455–1534)

Naomi Miller, Boston University
Ailsa Mellon Bruce Visiting Senior Fellow, winter 1995
The Renaissance Voyage: La sfera

Stefan Morawski, Polish Academy of Sciences and Letters, Institute of Art
Ailsa Mellon Bruce Visiting Senior Fellow, spring 1995
On Artistic Postmodernism in the United States

Gustavo L. Moré, Universidad Nacional Pedro Henríquez, Ureña, Santo Domingo
Association of Research Institutes in Art History Fellow, summer 1995
*Bibliographic Manual on Architecture and Urbanism in the Contemporary Greater
Caribbean Region, 1900–1995*

Daniel Schávelzon, Centro de Arqueología Urbana, Instituto de Arte Americano e Investigaciones Estéticas “Mario J. Buschiazzo,” Universidad de Buenos Aires Inter-American Development Bank and Ailsa Mellon Bruce Visiting Senior Research Fellow, fall 1994, spring 1995

The Preservation of Artistic and Archaeological Heritage in Latin America: South America (1750–1990)

József Sisa, Art-Historical Institute of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences

Ailsa Mellon Bruce Visiting Senior Fellow, summer 1995

Soros Visiting Senior Research Travel Fellow, summer 1995

Neo-Gothic and Restoration of Monuments in Central Europe: Friedrich Schmidt and His School

Thea Vignau-Wilberg, Staatliche Graphische Sammlung München

Ailsa Mellon Bruce Visiting Senior Fellow, spring 1995

“Hortus philosophicus”: *The Humanist’s View of Nature in the Era of Erasmus*

Samuel H. Kress Postdoctoral Curatorial Fellow, 1994–1995

T. Barton Thurber, National Gallery of Art, Department of Prints, Drawings, Photographs, and Sculpture

Predoctoral Fellows

Jenny Anger [Brown University]

David E. Finley Fellow, 1994–1997

Modernism and the Gendering of Paul Klee

Roann Barris [University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign]*

Samuel H. Kress Fellow, 1993–1995

Chaos by Design: The Constructivist Stage and Its Reception

Julien Chapuis [Indiana University]

Samuel H. Kress Fellow, 1994–1996

Underdrawing in Paintings of the Stefan Lochner Group

Timothy Davis [University of Texas at Austin]

Chester Dale Fellow, 1994–1995

Contested Terrain: Washington, D.C.’s Rock Creek and Potomac Parkway as a Case Study in Urban Landscape History

Leah Dickerman [Columbia University]

David E. Finley Fellow, 1993–1996

Utopian Practice and Revolutionary Complexity, 1917–1936: The Work of Aleksandr Rodchenko

- Jesús R. Escobar [Princeton University]
 Chester Dale Fellow, 1994–1995
The Plaza Mayor of Madrid: Architecture and Urbanism for the Capital of Spain, 1560–1630
- Maria Gough [Harvard University]*
 Paul Mellon Fellow, 1992–1995
The Forgotten Dialogue: Russian Constructivism and Russian Formalism in the Early 1920s
- Jodi Hauptman [Yale University]*
 Wyeth Fellow, 1993–1995
Vision and Spectatorship in the Work of Joseph Cornell
- Abby McGehee [University of California, Berkeley]
 Paul Mellon Fellow, 1993–1996
The Parish Church of SS Gervais et Protais: Parisian Flamboyant in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries
- Nancy Norwood [University of California, Berkeley]
 Mary Davis Fellow, 1994–1996
Devotional and Liturgical Aspects of Fifteenth-Century Northern European Sculpted Entombment Groups
- Irina Oryshkevich [Columbia University]
 Paul Mellon Fellow, 1994–1997
Christian Reclamation: Rediscovery of the Catacombs in Counter-Reformation Rome
- Cynthia Robinson [University of Pennsylvania]*
 Andrew W. Mellon Fellow, 1993–1995
Meaning in Art and Architecture of the Mulūk al-Tawā'if: The Reconstruction of an "Imaginaire"
- David Roxburgh [University of Pennsylvania]
 Andrew W. Mellon Fellow, 1994–1996
The Collector, the Collected, and the Collection: The Production of Albums under the Timurids, Aqquyunlu, and Safavids
- Kathryn A. Smith [New York University, Institute of Fine Arts]*
 Mary Davis Fellow, 1993–1995
Canonizing the Apocryphal: London, British Library Egerton MS. 2781 and Its Visual, Devotional, and Social Contexts
- Lydia Thompson [New York University, Institute of Fine Arts]*
 Ittleson Fellow, 1993–1995
The Yi'nan Tomb

Eugene Yuejin Wang [Harvard University]
Ittleson Fellow, 1994–1996
“Transformational Tableaux” and the Chinese Medieval Cultural Experience

Mariët Westermann [New York University, Institute of Fine Arts]*
David E. Finley Fellow, 1992–1995
Jan Steen and the Visual Poetics of Farce

* in residence 19 September 1994–31 August 1995

MEETINGS

Symposia

18–19 November 1994

ENGRAVED GEMS: SURVIVALS AND REVIVALS

Classical Precedents and Medieval Revivals

Moderator: Marianne Maaskant-Kleibrink, University of Groningen

John Boardman, University of Oxford

Classical Gems and Media Interaction

Martin Henig, University of Oxford

“Et in Arcadia Ego”: Satyrs and Maenads in the Ancient World and Beyond

Jeffrey Spier, University College, London

Early Christian Gems and Their Rediscovery

Genevra Kornbluth, Youngstown State University

Carolingian Engraved Gems: “Golden Rome Is Reborn”?

Erika Zwierlein-Diehl, Universität Bonn

“Interpretatio Christiana”: Gems at the Shrine of the Three Kings

Collecting Gems in the Renaissance and Baroque Periods, I

Moderator: Ingrid Szeiklies-Weber, Staatliche Münzsammlung, Munich

Clifford Brown, Carleton University, Ottawa

Isabelle d’Este’s “Augustus and Livia” Cameo and the “Alexander and Olympias”

Gems in Vienna and Saint Petersburg

Hugh Tait, British Museum

The Renaissance Cameo-cut Vase and Its Antecedents

Cristina Piacenti, Museo degli Argenti, Florence

The Use of Cameos in the Mounts of Sixteenth-Century Milanese Rock Crystal Vases

Collecting Gems in the Renaissance and Baroque Periods, II

Moderator: John Boardman, University of Oxford

Toby Yuen, New York City

Glyptic Sources of Renaissance Art



- Martha McCrory, Fashion Institute of Technology, New York City
Engraved Gems of the Medici Grand Dukes: Patronage and Collecting in Sixteenth-Century Florence
- David Jaffé, J. Paul Getty Museum
Reproducing and Reading Gems in Rubens' Circle
- Transition into Later Periods: Epigoni*
Moderator: Cristina Piacenti, Museo degli Argenti, Florence
- Marianne Maaskant-Kleibrink, University of Groningen
Engraved Gems and Northern European Humanists
- Ingrid Szeiklies-Weber, Staatliche Münzsammlung, Munich
Giant Cameos in Precious Tablets with Jewelry and Cameos
- Gertrud Seidmann, University of Oxford
Two English Gem-Engravers and Their Patrons, 1760–1800
- Julia Kagan, State Hermitage Museum
The Classical Hero as an Ideal Ruler on Two Russian Cameos c. 1825
- Douglas Lewis, National Gallery of Art
The Last Gems: Roman and Milanese Engravers, 1750–1850



29 April 1995

MIDDLE ATLANTIC SYMPOSIUM IN THE HISTORY OF ART
TWENTY-FIFTH ANNUAL SESSIONS

Cosponsored with the Department of Art History and Archaeology,
University of Maryland at College Park

Welcome: Henry A. Millon, Center for Advanced Study in the Visual Arts

MORNING SESSION

Moderator: Therese O'Malley, Center for Advanced Study in the Visual Arts

Introduction: Mary C. Sturgeon

Ann Nicgorski [University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill]

Interlaced Fingers and Knotted Limbs: The Hostile Posture of Quarrelsome Ares in the Parthenon Frieze

Introduction: Herbert Kessler

Erik Thuno [Johns Hopkins University]

Paschal I and a Reliquary of the True Cross

Introduction: Lawrence Nees

Catherine Herbert [University of Delaware]

"Deliver Me From the Snare of the Hunters": Imagery of the Chase in the Utrecht Psalter and Its Carolingian Context



Introduction: Hans J. Van Miegroet

Charlotte Houghton [Duke University]

Slice of Life: Social Status and Spatial Politics in Pieter Aertsen's Butcher's Stall

Introduction: Sandy Kita

Lisa Morrisette [University of Pittsburgh]

Tagasode as an Issue of Display

Introduction: Steven Z. Levine

Kevin Richards [Bryn Mawr College]

Negotiations Toward a Self, 1770–1830

AFTERNOON SESSION

Moderator: Sally Promey, University of Maryland at College Park

Introduction: John W. McCoubrey

Constance McPhee [University of Pennsylvania]

Art, Politics, and Patronage: The Eleventh Duke of Norfolk's Program for Arundel Castle, Sussex (1795–1815)

Introduction: Roger Stein

Katherine McCarthy [University of Virginia]

Fathers and Daughters: Patriarchy and Feminism in Harriet Hosmer's Beatrice Cenci

Introduction: June Hargrove

Elissa Auther [University of Maryland at College Park]

Gustave Courbet's Sleep: Paresse et Luxure and the Threat of Tribadism in Mid-Nineteenth-Century France

Introduction: Craig Zabel

Randy Ploog [Pennsylvania State University]

An Abstract Painter in Chicago, 1910: The Early Work of Manierre Dawson

Introduction: Melvin P. Lader

Stephenie A. Schwartz [George Washington University]

The Personal and Spiritual Meaning of Vasily Kandinsky's Images of Saints

Introduction: Norma Broude

Deborah Gross [American University]

Plowing and Sowing: Political Inversions of Northern European Iconography in the Art of Käthe Kollwitz

Seminar

21 October 1994

INSTITUTIONAL SELF-CENSORSHIP AND RELATED POLICIES OF COLLECTING, PRESERVING, AND EXHIBITING

Participants:

Jean Sutherland Boggs, Center for Advanced Study in the Visual Arts

Charles Cunningham, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston

Gail Feigenbaum, Center for Advanced Study in the Visual Arts

James B. Frankel, University of California, Berkeley and University of San Francisco

Cooper Graham, Library of Congress

Marjorie Heins, American Civil Liberties Union

Walter Kendrick, Fordham University

Ted McIlvenna, Exodus Trust

Steven A. Mansbach, Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton

Henry A. Millon, Center for Advanced Study in the Visual Arts

Therese O'Malley, Center for Advanced Study in the Visual Arts

Nancy Pressly, Washington, D.C.

Harry Rand, National Museum of American Art

Andrew Robison, National Gallery of Art

Alan Shestack, National Gallery of Art

Abby Smith, Library of Congress



Due Giornate di Studi

16–17 February 1995

ARCHITECTURAL MODELS AND DRAWINGS IN THE RENAISSANCE

Participants:

Nicholas Adams, Vassar College

Richard J. Betts, University of Illinois

Jill Caskey, Center for Advanced Study in the Visual Arts

David R. Coffin, Princeton University

Joseph Connors, Columbia University

Francesca Consagra, Center for Advanced Study in the Visual Arts

Tracy E. Cooper, Temple University

Margaret D'Evelyn, Providence

Michael S. A. Dechert, Washington, D.C.

Gail Feigenbaum, Center for Advanced Study in the Visual Arts

Alice Friedman, Wellesley College

David Friedman, Massachusetts Institute of Technology

Hellmut Hager, Pennsylvania State University

Isabelle Hyman, New York University

Philip Jacks, Yale University

Alice Jarrard, Smith College

Mark Jarzombek, Cornell University



Lawrence Jenkins, University of New Orleans
Douglas Lewis, National Gallery of Art
William C. Loerke, Dumbarton Oaks (emeritus)
William L. MacDonald, Washington, D.C.
Charles Mack, University of South Carolina
Tod A. Marder, Rutgers University
Fernando Marías, Center for Advanced Study in the Visual Arts
Naomi Miller, Center for Advanced Study in the Visual Arts
Henry A. Millon, Center for Advanced Study in the Visual Arts
Christopher Monkhouse, Heinz Architectural Center, Pittsburgh
John Moore, Smith College
Therese O'Malley, Center for Advanced Study in the Visual Arts
Alina Payne, University of Toronto
Maria A. Phillips, Georgia State University
John Pinto, Princeton University
Martha Pollak, University of Illinois at Chicago
Brenda Preyer, University of Texas at Austin
Myra Nan Rosenfeld, Canadian Center for Architecture
Joseph Rykwert, University of Pennsylvania
Gustina Scaglia, Queens College
Juergen Schulz, Brown University

Craig Hugh Smyth, Cresskill, New Jersey
T. Barton Thurber, Center for Advanced Study in the Visual Arts
Stephen Tobriner, University of California, Berkeley
Marvin Trachtenberg, New York University, Institute of Fine Arts
Richard Tuttle, Tulane University
John Varriano, Mount Holyoke College
Patricia Waddy, Center for Advanced Study in the Visual Arts
William Wallace, Washington University
Carroll W. Westfall, Jr., University of Virginia
Catherine Wilkinson-Zerner, Brown University

Colloquia CXXIV–CXXX

13 October 1994

Jean Sutherland Boggs, Samuel H. Kress Professor
Dating the Works and Life of Degas

8 December 1994

Ann Kuttner, Paul Mellon Senior Fellow
*On Looking Into Republican Painted Rooms: The Villa of the Mysteries'
Dionysiac Suite*

19 January 1995

Fernando Mariás, Samuel H. Kress Senior Fellow
Richard L. Kagan, Member of the Center, NEH Fellow
Urbs and Civitas: Making City Views in the Hispanic World

2 February 1995

James Naremore, Ailsa Mellon Bruce Senior Fellow
Film Noir: The Origins of an Idea

16 February 1995

Patricia Waddy, Samuel H. Kress Senior Fellow
Giustiniani and Del Bufalo Cousins and Their Residences in Rome

16 March 1995

Yasser Tabbaa, Ailsa Mellon Bruce Senior Fellow
Rationality and Belief in the Medieval Islamic Hospital

20 April 1995

Barbara Gaehrtgens, Frese Senior Research Fellow
The Transfer of Power: Widowed Queens as Regents

Shoptalks

17 November 1994

Mariët Westermann, David E. Finley Fellow

How Was Jan Steen Funny? Fictions of Comic Truth

15 December 1994

Maria Gough, Paul Mellon Fellow

Taxonomizing Vagary and Aphorism: The INKUK Debate and the Constructivist Debut of Karl Ioganson

12 January 1995

Lydia Thompson, Ittleson Fellow

Cosmology, Ritual, and the Creation of Sacred Space in the Yi'nan Tomb

9 February 1995

Kathryn A. Smith, Mary Davis Fellow

The Neville of Hornby Hours (London, British Library Egerton MS. 2781) and the Construction of the Devout and Literate Layperson

9 March 1995

Cynthia Robinson, Andrew W. Mellon Fellow

Palace Architecture and Ornament in the "Courtly" Discourse of the Mulūk al-Tawā'if: Metaphor and Utopia

13 April 1995

Jodi Hauptman, Wyeth Fellow

Vision and Spectatorship in the Work of Joseph Cornell: Stargazing in the Cinema

Lecture

20 October 1994

James B. Frankel, University of California, Berkeley and University of San Francisco

Impermissible Art: Is There Such a Thing as Self-Censorship?

Fifteenth Anniversary Lecture Series

11 January 1995

Richard Shiff, University of Texas at Austin

Imitation of Matisse

8 March 1995

Carlo Bertelli, Université de Lausanne

The Iron Crown of Lombardy



4 May 1995

Marc Fumaroli, Collège de France

A Paradoxical Friendship: Antoine Watteau and the Comte de Caylus (1714–1721)

Andrew W. Mellon Lectures in the Fine Arts, 1995

Arthur C. Danto, Columbia University

Contemporary Art and the Pale of History

19 March

Three Decades after the End of Art

26 March

Master Narratives and Critical Perspectives

2 April

Modernism and the Critique of Pure Art: The Historical Vision of Clement Greenberg

9 April

Painting and the Pale of History: The Passing of the Pure

30 April

Painting, Politics, and Post-Historical Art

7 May

Monochrome, History, and the Style Matrix

LECTURE ABSTRACTS

RICHARD SHIFF

University of Texas at Austin

Imitation of Matisse

Matisse was especially conscious of the pleasure he took in manipulating painters' materials. He thought of himself as being guided by the given nature of his materials, even to the point of identifying his own physicality with that of his art. The association became so close that art and the artist's studio could function as an all-absorbing medium, an insulating device, or a refuge, protecting the artist from the stresses and anxieties associated with the outside world's modernity, urbanism, and industrialism, not to mention the more specific threats deriving from a politics of war.

How did painting—in particular, Matisse's kind of painting—come to have such potential to protect or to provide escape? Why does the act of painting alleviate the anxieties of modern industrial society? We can certainly regard painting as a rewarding form of unalienated labor. But there is another (not unrelated) answer to our question to be found in “imitation,” artistic or otherwise. Imitation is the living through of another's actions or the re-creation of the way of being of another physical thing. It may entail an artist's identifying with inanimate objects so closely that the two existences become confused.

I discuss Matisse's practice—both as performed by the artist and as conceptualized by him—as an “imitation” of a very materialistic sort. This requires examining Matisse's touch and certain details of his application of color. In turn, I discuss how Matisse's very expressionistic manner of “imitating” a scene or an object came to be regarded as a prime example of formalist practice. In developing a sense of how and why formalism came into being, critics such as Roger Fry and Clement Greenberg distinguished between the artist who takes pleasure and the one who gives it—between an art of emotion (a taking) and an art of virtuosity (a giving). Of course, the key to understanding imitation is to view it in terms of reciprocity, nothing more nor less than (as common knowledge puts it) an interminable giving and taking, a give and take.

CARLO BERTELLI
Université de Lausanne
The Iron Crown of Lombardy

The so-called Iron Crown of Monza (a small town a few miles from Milan) has a longstanding reputation as the representative emblem of the Italian kingdom. It was adopted by Napoleon as the symbol of his sovereignty over Italy and subsequently by the Hapsburg archduke Ferdinand I and the Savoy kings since Vittorio Emanuele II.

The crown itself is extraordinary. To a body consisting of six gold plaques embossed with roses were later added other enameled plaques, decorated with floral motives. The style and technique of the enamels point to the ninth century and to Lombard craftsmanship, while the diadem itself dates to late antiquity. The crown takes its name from an iron brace inserted inside. This has long been believed to be a nail from the Holy Cross. In the late fourth century (the source is Saint Ambrose), two nails were believed to have been brought to Constantinople by Helen, the mother of emperor Constantine. One of them had been inserted into the helmet of the emperor and the other one in the bit of his horse.

Documents concerning the iron crown are more recent. In 1531 it was believed to be the crown made of iron which, according to a tradition dating to the thirteenth century, represented the kingdom of Italy. Fifty years later it was also considered a relic.

At least since 1378 the supposed relic of the bit is documented as being in Milan. This last "relic" had possibly been invented to rival the authority of the one in Monza at the time of the feud between the Visconti, settled in Milan, and the Della Torre, established in Monza.

As the town of Saint Ambrose, Milan was a much better candidate to own the relics of the nails. In fact a tenth-century relief on the canopy over the tomb of Saint Ambrose represents the iron crown, which would have been sheltered in the canopy itself until it was brought in the eleventh century to Monza by Archbishop Aribert, who needed the authority of the Holy Nail to try to build up a new place for imperial coronations, in opposition to Milan.

MARC FUMAROLI

Collège de France

A Paradoxical Friendship: Antoine Watteau and the Comte de Caylus (1714–1721)

Caylus (1695–1765) is mostly known for his published works on antiquarian subjects and as an eminent patron of the French revival of classicism in the arts. In 1747 he was one of the protagonists of the reform of the Académie de Peinture, which marked the beginning of a vast debate that eventually led to the outmoding of rocaille and rococo. As the nephew of Madame de Maintenon, Caylus was educated to the classical taste of the Sun King and to the admiration of its major achievement: the palace and gardens of Versailles. Nevertheless, as a young man, during the regency of Philippe d'Orleans (1715–1723), Caylus established a close friendship and collaboration with Antoine Watteau (1684–1721), the most innovative painter of his generation whose style was independent from the official canons established under Louis XIV. This contribution aims to present the different facets of this unforeseeable and fertile encounter, as well as to trace its consequences on the later career of the count as an academician and as a patron of the arts.

RESEARCH REPORTS OF MEMBERS

RESEARCH REPORTS OF MEMBERS

The following research reports concern work accomplished by fellows of the Center for Advanced Study in the Visual Arts who were in residence during the period June 1994 to May 1995. Additional reports are included by members whose fellowships ended as of August 1995. Remaining reports by Visiting Senior Fellows for the summer 1995 will appear in *Center 16*.



Jean-Baptiste Greuze, *Ange-Laurent de La Live de Jully*, probably 1759. National Gallery of Art, Washington, Samuel H. Kress Collection

Patriotic Collecting: Buying Modern Art in Paris at the End of the Ancien Régime

"It is the case," the comte de Caylus informed his Theatine correspondent in Rome, "that we are the first to underestimate the many advantages of our French school; for this reason, I send you a copy of the catalogue of the collection that has done the most to make our school better known." Caylus was referring to the picture cabinet assembled between 1752 and 1764 by Ange-Laurent de La Live de Jully (1725–1779). Devoted primarily to "l'école française," its collection of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century French paintings and sculpture would still stand as a survey of French art from Poussin to Chardin. Recognized by contemporaries as pioneering, and widely publicized, La Live de Jully's "goût patriotique" was emulated by collectors from various sections of the Parisian elites during the last two decades of the Ancien Régime. By the eve of the Revolution, modern French painting had come to occupy a privileged place within many of the most prominent private collections in Paris, and this study focuses on six amateurs whose collections were recognized as being devoted predominantly, and in certain cases exclusively, to contemporary art. The degree to which the individual collectors exercised patronage rather than mere consumption is considered in each biographical study.

Based largely on unpublished material from the notarial archives, the biographical chapters document various aspects of this new taste for contemporary art, whose patriotic resonance was not lost on art critics and commentators of the cultural scene. Along with La Live de Jully, the other collectors under investigation are the abbé Joseph-Marie Terray (1715–1778), Louis XV's despised minister of finance, whose small collection of commissioned paintings and sculpture gave visual form to his deeply held political and economic preoccupations; the marquis Louis-Gabriel de Véri Rainoard (1722–1784), scion of impecunious aristocracy from the Comtat Venaissin, whose collection of modern art included the finest examples yet assembled of works by Fragonard and Greuze; the notary Charles-Nicolas Duclos-Dufresnoy (1733–1794), a patron of Greuze, Fragonard, and Vernet and protector of Hue, Taillason, and Taunay; Joseph-Hyacinthe-François de Paule de Rigaud, comte de Vaudreuil (1740–1817), boon companion to the comte d'Artois, and a patron of Beaumarchais and David, whose sponsorship of French arts and letters in the 1780s set new standards of taste at Louis XVI's court; and the farmer-general Laurent Grimod de La Reynière (1733–1797), whose neoclassical *hôtel* on the Place Louis XV, with arabesque decorations by Peyron and Lavallée Poussin, housed Lemoyne's suite of grand manner mythologies of the 1720s.

Taken together, the individual case studies address larger issues regarding the role of the patron and collector in Paris before the Revolution. Only in excep-

tional cases can it be shown that the *amateur* determined the subject of the work he acquired; he might be more inclined to stipulate size, since paintings by living artists were frequently intended to be hung as pairs, or as pendants to old masters. Although there is considerable aesthetic variety among the collections—which, it should be remembered, were each devoted to modern French painting—taste of the collectors does not conform to the stylistic divisions still commonly applied to French painting in the second half of the eighteenth century. Within the same collection it was common to see amorous mythologies, domestic religious works, carefully finished genre scenes, and narrative painting of classical and historical subject matter. La Live de Jully's encyclopedic model, which encouraged the representation of successive generations of academicians and was inclusive with regard to genre, was maintained throughout the 1770s and 1780s. But by the eve of the Revolution, collectors of the French school were also responding to the Crown's support of modern history painting, and neoclassical history paintings of domestic scale began to enter private picture cabinets with some regularity. In the collection of the comte de Vaudreuil, for example, works by David and Menageot hung alongside masterpieces by Watteau and Boucher. Paradoxically, by 1789 it can be shown that a group of highly placed collectors, with strong attachments to Crown and Church, had begun to acquire works by the promising history painters who flourished under d'Angiviller's sponsorship. A seignorial taste for neoclassical history painting, championed by art critics since midcentury, comes into existence as the institutions and interests that sustain it are irrevocably undermined.

Kimbell Art Museum
Paul Mellon Visiting Senior Fellow, fall 1994

Chaos by Design: The Constructivist Stage Set and Its Reception

[The following text is the abstract of my dissertation, written for UMI microfilms. Since my dissertation was complete before I arrived at the Center, this abstract still accurately describes the work. The only changes I have made to it at this point have been in the introduction, where I stress the multidisciplinary nature of my study and emphasize my use of the stage set as the means for investigating larger issues related to the nature of design as a phenomenon where other practices are inscribed, that is, as a process in which form and meaning are part of an ongoing debate with history, politics, and sociocultural realities.]

The underlying theme of this dissertation is that the formation of and response to Russian constructivist stage design was motivated by a dynamic relationship between order and disorder, in social and artistic terms. Therefore, I begin with a discussion of what order meant, to society and to artists, in the period leading up to and just after the 1917 revolution, and in particular, in terms of goals for the future. I then establish the fact that artists saw themselves as the harbingers or creators of a new order, a role predicated on a belief in the democratization of art.

My third chapter establishes and explicates a “language” of constructivist stage design. This language is derived from many sources or components, with folk and what has been identified by Russians as primitive, and spectacle forms playing as formative a role as architectural and machine imagery; no work can really be understood without comprehending the entire constellation of visual and ideological ideas of which the language consists.

In chapter four I develop the idea that the stage set was not an example of nonobjective art, but had a subject—the depiction of the new world. Important to my thesis, however, is the idea that the subject of the set may have contradicted the subject of the play or it may have raised uncomfortable questions about social goals.

In the last chapter I examine the reception of constructivist stage design. Criticism rarely rested on just the acceptance or rejection of the aesthetic, although at times aesthetic terms dominated the discussion. Similarly, it was not merely a question of “taste.” The visualization of a new world became the social-ideological factor underlying the critical and spectator response to the constructivist stage. But this is what generated the perception of chaos, because either the meaning of the constructivist language is not understood, or it is seen as communicating an overload of information, or the understood meaning is considered to be at variance with social goals. Thus, I argue that constructivist stage design did come to be seen as representing disorder or chaos, with disorder taking the form of the *balagan*, the western city, dualism, an incongruity between form and content, the presence of chance or randomness, the transformation of objects (a

form of instability), an at times incomprehensible language, and ultimately, a subversion of the text or written word.

Apart from exploring publication possibilities for my dissertation, I developed a proposal for a potential new writing and research project that ultimately will allow me to link my interest in twentieth-century art with an examination of art of the nineteenth century, as well as to refine a method for art-historical studies—reception theory—that has underexploited relevance. My plan is to strive for some type of comparative study using Russia and the United States as my primary sources, but also considering the arts of western Europe. The early nineteenth century witnessed the development of nationalist arts, implicit in which is the presence of a nationalist narrative, often expressed in terms of utopian or anti-utopian imagery. The expression of these narratives may not infuse all forms of art equally, however. In nineteenth-century Russia, for example, the popular theater superseded the visual arts in the creation and communication of nationalist narratives. Further, nationalist narratives may be present in art styles that do not immediately evoke the presence of a narrative. Narrative is clearly central to realism, but as David Anfam has observed in his work on abstract expressionism, even abstraction can be examined in terms of narratives. Finally, the presence of narrative is, I think, intrinsic not just to painting—or theater—but also to architecture, particularly during periods of national redefinition or what could also be called ideological redefinition. Narrative theory then becomes central to the study in two ways—as a means of “reading” the encoded narratives in various works of art, and as a means of accessing the ideological narratives encoded in criticism. Reception theory is also methodologically central precisely because the demand for narrative recasts criticism as an ideological tool, rather than an aesthetic evaluation.

[University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign]
Samuel H. Kress Fellow, 1993–1995

Spectacular Settings: The Film Architecture of Robert Mallet-Stevens

My time at the Center for Advanced Study in the Visual Arts has enabled me to further explore the cinematic architectural theory of Robert Mallet-Stevens, specifically as it pertains to the notion of *photogénie*, a central theme in avant-garde film theory of his time. As its name suggests, *photogénie* was directly linked to photography, an interest that Mallet-Stevens cultivated particularly during the Great War, in which he served as aerial surveillance aviator and cameraman. *Photogénie*, however, was always something more than mere professional photography, for it took its cue from contemporary pictorialist theory, which stressed that every photograph must have a story to tell, an implied narrative. This theory also stressed that even storytelling was not enough for the photogenic image; it was also to be an object appreciated on its own terms, that is, for the sheer artistry of its forms.

Mallet-Stevens' understanding of *photogénie* derived from the film theory of Louis Delluc, who coined the term. Like Delluc, Mallet-Stevens argued that "l'architecture joue," making it more than *mise en scène*—it was part of the story. Mallet-Stevens also imagined the photogenic setting as something to be looked at for itself, to serve the film as spectacle, and as one of its visual attractions designed to address and garner an audience. The French studio industry imagined and deployed Mallet-Stevens' film decor as both fiction and fact, as fantasy and document, as subjective and objective, as diegetic component and self-complete attraction. How might the dual performances of Mallet-Stevens' architecture serve the film director? What might be the function of an architecture that both directs the gaze and demands it? Why would a director use Mallet-Stevens' decor, knowing that it is inclined to break the flow of narration as it directs attention away from story? Why would the fracturing of voice and diegesis be desirable in a work such as *L'Inhumaine*, the 1923 film directed by Marcel L'Herbier which contains Mallet-Stevens' best known decors?

To respond to these questions, I have focused on a number of sequences in *L'Inhumaine* commonly overlooked by its students—a Jazz Age jam session, a wrestling scene, a gymnastic event, a concert-chantant—whose purposes in the film do nothing to advance the flow of narration. They do emphasize the fact that certain of the film's "attractions" seem to be directed at the outside audience, rather than telegraphed to it via the perceivings of characters internal to the film. L'Herbier places an enormous premium on all kinds of acts of seeing in *L'Inhumaine*, whether those acts be unabashed spectatorship, or covert acts of voyeurism. Where do these presentational moments come from and why do they exist here? To partially respond to this question, I delved into *L'Inhumaine*'s cinematic prehistory, exploring moments in film narration's genesis in France, specifically the pioneering work of Charles Lumière and George Méliès. I discovered,



"A View of Einar Noorsen's Laboratory" in *L'Inhumaine*, designed by Robert Mallet-Stevens, with Mallet-Stevens, actor Jacque Catelain, and director Marcel L'Herbier (left to right) pictured in the foreground. From Robert Mallet-Stevens, *Le Décor moderne au cinéma* (Paris, 1929). Museum of Modern Art, New York

particularly in the work of Méliès, a kind of film construction which, like that of *L'Inhumaine*, alternates between narration and spectacle, though Méliès' films do so for a much shorter duration.

As this "primitive" construction is resurrected in his film, L'Herbier also "popularizes" *L'Inhumaine* via various characters, sequences, and spectacles that disturb the strict narrative construction of the work. Indeed, ensemble shots of the engineer's laboratory and Claire's salon and boudoir seem designed to make the viewer pause and look—theory interrupting diegetic flow—and to take note. As they do so, these scenes seem more a throwback to a kind of cinema wherein narration is less important than the film's purely visual being for attention-getting. Moreover, these settings, particularly Mallet-Stevens' laboratory exterior and Fernand Léger's laboratory interior, likely derive from the same purely visual sense of constructed spectacle—not to mention forms—as did Méliès' early *contes féeriques*. So remarkable did Méliès consider his sets that in 1906 he actually patented them in the United States (there are deposits of his set designs in the Library of Congress, not the scenarios) in order to prevent further pirating of his films.

Mapping a film like *L'Inhumaine* onto the early "cinema of attractions" (as Tom Gunning has called it) allows one to see not only the motivation behind the mixing of genres during the 1920s but also allows one to position this film—like so many others—within the period's retrospective survey of cinematic origins. Not only can such films be seen as owing their shape to the attention-drive of earlier cinema, they can also be interpreted as indexing their very modalities of exhibition, some of which duplicate those of early film itself. Furthermore, their associations with the attractions of the Théâtre des Variétés come usefully to blur the distinctions between *avant-* and *arrière-garde*, as well as high- and low-art forms. In this way, one might consider Mallet-Stevens' architecture, cinematic and real, as invested with a sense of its spectacular being and hopes for widescale appeal.

Last, the functioning of this kind of object-driven visual discourse suggests the significance of the spectacular aura from which Mallet-Stevens' architecture seems to draw. Mallet-Stevens' designs were created as images, not so much to be buildings as pretexts for reproduced images to be circulated within the marketplace of the illustrated press, and then the cinema. As mere photographic images illustrating architectural styles they had a certain "how-to" quality; as photogenic images, however, they could do even more. They could tell a story. Mallet-Stevens' film images were always conceived as ensemble shots—they were redolent of a narrative that was yet to unfold. As in a De Chirico work, inhabitants were invariably absent, though they did leave their shadowy traces. The actors were there, just outside of sight—and if you just waited a moment they were sure to appear. In fact, Mallet-Stevens' images always intensely deployed perspective construction (unlike Le Corbusier, who sought to belie it). As this was dramatized, Mallet-Stevens concurrently constructed his subject, be it the camera, the director's eye, or the audience. Mallet-Stevens' perspectival absences, it seems, were but virtual presences. In fact, the absences of Mallet-Stevens' architectural images seemed to beckon for a psychic projection of the viewer into the space of the image itself.

“Déplacez-vous!” says the engineer to the heroine of *L’Inhumaine* as she watches various exotic sites appear on his “television.” And as she does so, through the miracle of the wireless radio, she witnesses the effect of her voice on the screen image. People laugh and sing to her voice; others are miraculously healed of their infirmities. Simultaneously the heroine “L’Inhumaine” recovers her lost humanity. The engineer—and filmmaker—envision a viewer’s displacement into the imaginary then-and-there, a translation ultimately ensuring sensory intimacy and the promise of possession and fulfillment. As this psychic operation occurs, the gulf between the photography and *photogénie* is at last bridged. The image acquires a new value deriving from self-investment, immediately put to work as this purely fantasmatic dimension is found to be desirable—and, perhaps more important for the filmmaker and architect, marketable.

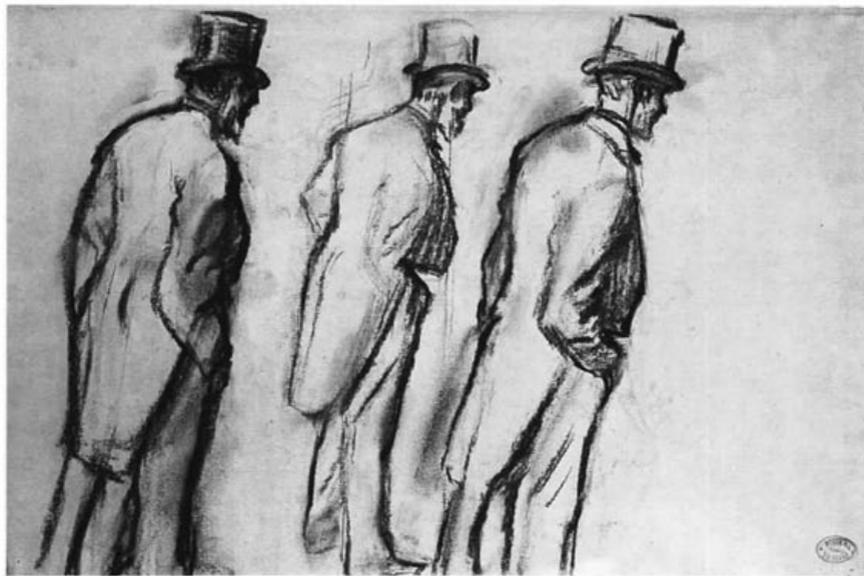
Carnegie Mellon University
Paul Mellon Visiting Senior Fellow, summer 1994

JEAN SUTHERLAND BOGGS

A Catalogue Raisonné of the Drawings of Degas

Since Edgar Degas (1834–1917) was one of the greatest and most imaginative draftsmen of the nineteenth century, it is surprising that a catalogue of his drawings has never been published. Over the past eight months I have been testing the feasibility of producing such a catalogue. Its desirability was obvious to me by the mid-1950s when I met the cataloguer of Degas' paintings, Paul-André Lemoisne, whose manuscript for a catalogue of the drawings subsequently disappeared. In working on Degas since, a systematic organization of his drawings and the publication of all the images have seemed increasingly essential.

Such a catalogue should not be the project for a single scholar. The four of us who collaborated on the retrospective exhibition of Degas' work for 1988—Henri Loyrette, director of the Musée d'Orsay, Gary Tinterow, curator at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, Michael Pantazzi, curator at the National Gallery of Canada, and I—are in any case committed to working toward it. As I have explored the project these past months, the requirements for additional specialists in certain subjects—for example, paper in the nineteenth century, Degas' use of media, the drawings styles of Degas and his contemporaries at life classes at the Villa Medici, Rome, in the late 1850s—have been identified. In some cases the



Edgar Degas, *Three Studies of Ludovic Halévy Standing*, c. 1880. National Gallery of Art, Washington, Collection of Mr. and Mrs. Paul Mellon

specialists are already known. Under any circumstances the work will be built on the foundation of Theodore Reff's 1976 publication of the notebook drawings.

Such a project is not fashionable in 1995. To quote a recent book on Degas, it represents, "an approach authorized by the kind of art history which privileges chronology and the catalogue *raisonné* (literally systematic and rational). The inevitable linearity of the numbered catalogue imposes a clear beginning, middle, and end in a manner quite alien to how art is actually conceived."¹ The task is also not easy, since Degas did not date many drawings, and he exhibited and published few in his lifetime. Nevertheless it has been possible to organize some two thousand images under six periods, and under certain themes such as copies, history, life, portraits, and dance. Finally within a theme and within a period, it has been possible to discover clusters of drawings, often around datable paintings or pastels for which the drawings are studies. The result is a draft which will undoubtedly be refined and even radically changed.

The other achievement is the development of a database by Abby Krain which will be used for the entries and for data reference. From the information organized with the images she has drafted several hundred entries, again with changes expected.

So far there has not been an organized search for unknown works beyond a systematic examination of auction catalogues conducted by Pauline Maguire, assistant on the project. Before a further search takes place, it seems desirable to have the model in place into which new images and information would have been fitted. This is now being accomplished.

Inevitably in a work as ambitious as this, there have been discoveries that could lead to articles independent of the catalogue itself. The conclusion, however, is that a catalogue *raisonné* of Degas' drawings can become a reality.

1. Anthea Callen, *The Spectacular Body: Science, Method, and Meaning in the Work of Degas* (New Haven, 1995).

Ottawa, Ontario
Samuel H. Kress Professor, 1994–1995

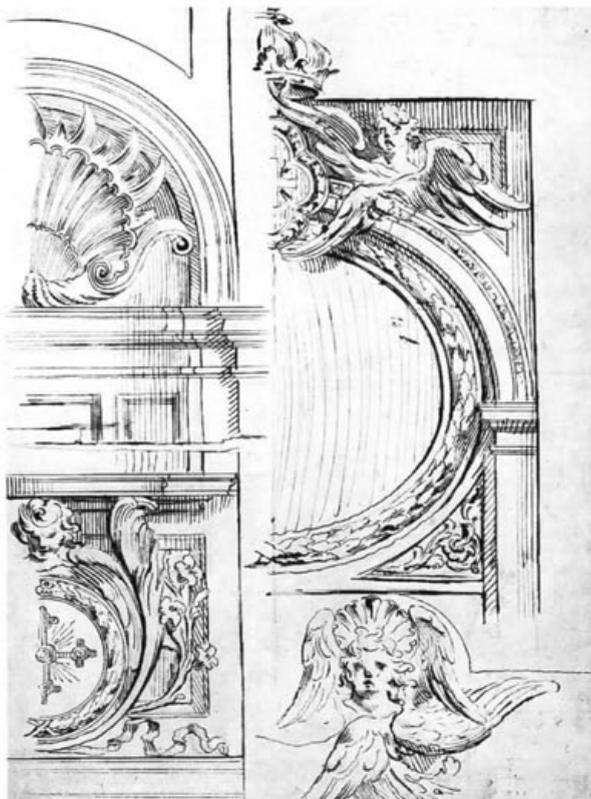
JOSEPH CONNORS

Borromini's Architectural Publications

Francesco Borromini (1599–1667) was not only the most productive architect of the Roman baroque but the best published. My two months were spent charting the history of Borromini's image, both etched and printed. The narrative opens with analysis of a book that we know by a high-sounding eighteenth-century name, the *Opus Architectonicum*, which began as an illustrated monograph on the Casa dei Filippini, penned in 1646–1647 by the most creative patron of papal Rome, Virgilio Spada. Separating the two voices behind the text, that of patron and architect, takes a sharp ear, like telling which instrument is coming from which stereo speaker, but instinct and logic do allow relatively subtle distinctions to be made. Other works, S. Carlo and the Lateran, were also the subjects of monographs and discourses, many of which stayed in manuscript form though some came to publication.

In the 1650s Borromini gradually moved from these lumbering vehicles, serving more the patron's interests than his own, to the more nimble format of the illustrated guidebook, where his principles could be adumbrated and his buildings reclaimed from reluctant patrons and shown in all their idealized glory. He formed a creative partnership with the French printmaker Domenico Barrière and the Roman antiquarian Fioravante Martinelli, and in about 1660 planned to publish the *opera omnia* of both built work and unbuilt ideas. About to cross an important threshold and fulfill expectations held of an architect in a bookish culture, he nevertheless still held back. A deep-seated urge to secrecy welled up and prevented him from bringing the project to completion. Martinelli died in 1667, and a week later Borromini burned many of the drawings destined for publication and committed suicide.

The commercial press looked intensely at Borromini's work in the last decade of his life and for the fifty years that followed without finding the fragments of the great publication project. Two young printmakers of genius, Cruyl and Falda, working for two rival publishers of the much ramified De Rossi family (about which Francesca Consagra has revolutionized our knowledge), took Borromini's buildings into their telescopic sights, departing from his own idealizing vision and putting the work back into the context of Alexander VII's theatrical recasting of Rome. In the early eighteenth century Domenico de Rossi, last of the great clan, began the monumental *Studio d'architettura civile* (1702–1721) as a didactic tool conceived in the climate of academic education and the *concorsi Clementini*. But out of the blue an unknown publisher, Sebastiano Giannini, burst onto the scene in 1720–1725 claiming to have found the great cache of Borromini drawings and the Barrière plates that had eluded publishers since the architect's death. And indeed he had, but he edited the material intensely, bequeathing to us eighteenth-century images that have shaped, but sometimes misshaped, our image of the



Gilles-Marie Oppenord, sketch, 1692–1699, of details from Francesco Borromini's S. Carlo alle Quattro Fontane (1638–1641). Kunstbibliothek, Berlin

architect, such as the plan of S. Ivo in the form of the star of Solomon or the portrait of Borromini that the Swiss have put on their currency.

During my fellowship there was also time to work on two related articles. One deals with the views of Borromini's work—many dozens of inspired sketches of details, some of things that no longer exist—in the five sketchbooks of Gilles-Marie Oppenord, a young Frenchman who sojourned in Rome from 1692 to 1699. The other deals with Borromini's quest to find images of Hagia Sophia, which could be glimpsed only through the Ciriaco d'Ancona drawings preserved in the Giuliano da Sangallo sketchbook now in the Vatican library, or through the even darker glass of images of S. Vitale in Ravenna. The search shows Borromini's historical consciousness stirring on the eve of a great commission that is alluded to in an inscription on one of the relevant drawings, *Sophia, id est Sapientia*.

Columbia University

Ailsa Mellon Bruce Visiting Senior Fellow, fall 1994

ELIZABETH CROPPER

Nicolas Poussin: Friendship and the Love of Painting; Jacopo Pontormo: Portrait of a Halberdier

In the first part of the year Charles Dempsey and I completed the preparation of the book on Poussin we have coauthored. Entitled *Nicolas Poussin: Friendship and the Love of Painting* (to be published in 1996 by Princeton University Press), this volume is organized around a series of characters (notably Vincenzo Giustiniani, Cassiano dal Pozzo, Montaigne, and Giovanni Battista Marino) with whom the artist had a close relationship, either personal or intellectual, and who held importance for the painter's work. Remarkably, Nicolas Poussin (b. 1594) and Jacopo Pontormo (b. 1494)—the two artists who are the focus of my current research—were both the subjects of centennial celebrations during the first year of my Andrew W. Mellon Professorship, and these celebrations required an unusual amount of travel. Two conferences provided opportunities to present new arguments about Poussin. At the first, held at the Louvre in connection with the exhibition at the Grand Palais, I presented an interpretation of Poussin's *Healing of the Blind*, arguing that the subject is truly the *Healing of the Blind at Capernaum*, and that in this composition of 1650 Poussin refined his expression of the thematics of seeing that had already contributed to the invention of the second version of the *Arcadian Shepherds* and the *Self-Portrait for Chantelou*. Poussin's theme was clearly understood by members of the Académie, who discussed the *Healing of the Blind* specifically in terms of the pleasure of sight and the importance of an intimate experience of viewing shared by only a few. In the second conference, organized by the Bibliotheca Hertziana in collaboration with the Villa Medici, and held in connection with the exhibition *Roma 1630*, I took up the problem of format in Poussin's work, together with the related question of the artist's production of pendants and series. Among other factors, the new context of the gallery and contemporary discussions by Agostino Mascardi and others concerning the writing of history contributed to Poussin's definition of the history painting as a tableau. After the crossroads of the 1630s, Poussin mastered the grand manner on the small scale, setting a new critical standard that lies at the heart of discussions in the Accademia di San Luca in the 1630s, and which is closely related to the productions of contemporaries like his friend Claude Lorraine. These conferences made it possible for me to see almost all the exhibitions that made this Poussin year so memorable and important. At the National Gallery of Art and at the Center for Advanced Study in the Visual Arts, meanwhile, conversations about the problematic status of Poussin's *Holy Family on the Steps* and *Assumption of the Virgin* continued. Shortly before the official reattribution of the former to a follower of Poussin, I participated in the first Mellon Seminar at the Gallery, laying out for the staff of the Gallery and members of the Center some of the problems presented by second versions and copies in the sev-

enteenth century, and with special reference to Poussin and Caravaggio. Though technical evidence may provide conclusive results in a few cases, connoisseurship continues to be an essential tool, and only historical facts can help to account for the motivation behind the production of contemporary copies of high quality.

The particular strengths of the library at the Gallery enabled me to reconstruct in detail the Riccardi Collection in Florence, where Pontormo's *Portrait of a Halberdier* was to be found in 1612. Through various catalogues, and with the help of the Getty Provenance Index, it has been possible to identify (or confirm the identification of) most of the paintings in the ground floor rooms in the Riccardi's urban villa at Valfonda, as well as several others scattered throughout the house. Whether or not the inventory's identification of the Pontormo as a portrait of Cosimo I ultimately proves tenable, it has been both illuminating and provocative to comprehend how rich the Riccardi Collection was in Medici portraits, and in works by artists favored by Medici collectors.

Johns Hopkins University
Andrew W. Mellon Professor, 1994–1996



Florentine (Tommaso di Stefano?), *Portrait of a Man* (formerly Riccardi Collection), sixteenth century. Carnegie Museum of Art, Pittsburgh, Howard Noble Collection



Pietro Torrigiani and Italian and northern craftsmen, Henry VII Chapel, Westminster Abbey, London, looking east, showing Torrigiani's High Altar (c. 1518–1526; reconstructed), center, and tomb of Elizabeth of York and Henry VII, 1512–1518. Dean and Chapter of Westminster

Pietro Torrigiani and Italian Sculpture in Renaissance England

As 1995 marks the 750th anniversary of the founding of Westminster Abbey by King Henry III of England, studies are underway to examine the church's earlier medieval building history, patronage, and images of royalty, and also its later eighteenth-century tombs and monuments by Louis-François Roubiliac and others. My research focuses on the matrix of history, politics, and art between these two poles and specifically involves the creation of the Henry VII Chapel (1503) in the easternmost area of the Abbey. Kings Henry VII, the founder of the Tudor dynasty, and Henry VIII, the second son of Henry VII and Elizabeth of York, commissioned the talented Florentine sculptor Pietro Torrigiani (1472–1528) to create the earlier tomb of Margaret Beaufort (c. 1511–1513, the tomb of the mother of Henry VII and Torrigiani's first documented work in England); the later High Altar of Henry VII (c. 1518–1526); and the tomb of Henry VII and Elizabeth of York (1512–1518). Henry VII's exquisite tomb of gilded bronze and colored marble was considered among the "seven wonders of the world" by sixteenth-century travelers to London and, more recently, has been characterized as "the finest tomb north of the Alps." Together, this ensemble forms an integrated commemorative funerary complex intended to magically recast the Tudor portraits into simulacra of royal power.

Pietro Torrigiani is a brilliant and versatile but still neglected sculptor. He is famous both as the man who broke Michelangelo's nose and as the Florentine artist generally credited with introducing the Italian Renaissance style to England. He is also one of the first Italian Renaissance artists to work in France, the Netherlands, Spain, and perhaps Portugal. Based on the overwhelming lack of documents and knowledge of his early career, until recent discoveries and publications by the author, it had been impossible to comprehend how Torrigiani came to be chosen for what must have been considered, after Michelangelo's and Raphael's commissions in the Vatican, among the most important commissions in Europe during the early sixteenth century.

My work at the Center for Advanced Study involved the investigation and completion of a major survey of Torrigiani's early career before his arrival in England. What began as a reevaluation of the artist's later documented works in England led to a new proposal for the complex set of interrelated activities, commissions, patrons, and artists that Torrigiani encountered during his formative years in Florence, Bologna, Rome, and Siena, and established his reputation especially in Rome. Documents and arguments that I have partially published (and am preparing for a monograph) indicate a new and fuller chronology of Torrigiani's career and his path north to England. Moreover, it appears that Torrigiani had direct contacts and lengthy associations with other major Renaissance sculptors (Benedetto da Maiano, Antonio del Pollaiuolo,



Pietro Torrigiani, detail of gilt-bronze effigies of Elizabeth of York and Henry VII, Henry VII Chapel, Westminster Abbey, London, 1512–1518. Dean and Chapter of Westminster

Michelangelo, Andrea Bregno, Benedetto da Rovezzano), architects (Giuliano and Antonio da Sangallo), and even some unexpected painters (Domenico Ghirlandaio, Lorenzo di Credi, Raffaellino del Garbo, Pintoricchio, Antoniazio Romano) and patrons (Popes Alexander VI, Pius III, and Julius II; various key cardinals; the Baroncelli, Bardi, Frescobaldi, and other leading Florentine families; Margaret of Austria, regent of the Netherlands, kings Henry VII and Henry VIII of England, emperor Charles V and Isabella of Portugal, and others). As a result of the two-month fellowship to concentrate on this research and proceed with the preparation of a book, portions were written and hypotheses have been formulated establishing why Torrigiani was the recommended and logical choice for the prestigious commission of the early Tudor royal monuments in England. For example, it can be argued that in Rome Torrigiani demonstrated by 1505 a wide variety of skills as a designer, sculptor of terracotta, marble, and bronze, and had worked also as an architect-engineer. Further, it is possible to propose, for the first time, that Torrigiani continued an association with Michelangelo from the early 1490s until at least 1506.

The research resources at the Gallery also enabled me to initiate publications on other European sculptors, one of which was subsequently published as “From Marseilles to Detroit: Two French Sculptures Attributed to Puget and Veyrier,” (*La Scultura: Antologia di Belli Arti*, 1994).

The primary result of my work at the Center is the realization that the Torrigiani research and publication project involves even more profound interrelationships between major figures in Italy and the north than has heretofore been recognized; consequently, I am now planning for the additional research and writing required. However, having the opportunity to be intensively engaged not only with one’s own research, but also with the diverse projects and fresh ideas of other fellows and National Gallery curators has challenged me in new and unexpected directions as an art historian.

Detroit Institute of Arts
Paul Mellon Visiting Senior Fellow, spring–summer 1994

TIMOTHY DAVIS

The Contested Terrain of Washington, D.C.'s Rock Creek and Potomac Parkway

Rock Creek and Potomac Parkway, a two-and-half-mile-long scenic drive connecting the Mall and Rock Creek Park, is the oldest of the many parkways constructed in and around the nation's capital. Proposed as early as 1867, Rock Creek and Potomac Parkway was authorized by Congress in 1913, but not completed until 1936. Because of its unique location in time and place, it provides an ideal prism through which to view the evolution of American parkway design. Its conception and original design were firmly embedded in romantic landscape aesthetics and turn-of-the-century civic improvement philosophies, yet it was completed at a time when new dimensions of speed, scale, and social and spatial organization were entering the urban equation. The legacy of nineteenth-century landscape parks and the City Beautiful movement can be seen in its overall conception and in the elaborate drawings and rhetoric produced by parkway promoters at the turn of the century. The parkway's narrow, twisting roadway, with its slow speeds, abrupt entrances, and infrequent median strips reflects the earliest era of motor parkway design. The impact of postwar highway engineering can be seen at the south end of the parkway, portions of which have been turned into a spaghetti bowl of exits, overpasses, and on-ramps. The abandonment of plans to upgrade the parkway into a major thoroughfare exemplified the broader rejection of expressway-based urban renewal programs that accompanied the antimodernism movement of the 1960s and 1970s. Today, Rock Creek and Potomac Parkway stands as perhaps the best preserved example of the golden age of American parkway design.

My study examines the design and evolution of Rock Creek and Potomac Parkway, analyzing it both in relation to larger currents in the history of American landscape architecture and urban design, and as the unique product of local social, political, and geographic imperatives. The development of the scenic parkway as a distinct design type is an important aspect of American landscape history. While the Bronx River Parkway justly receives credit as the first American parkway designed solely for automotive use, the longer history of Rock Creek and Potomac Parkway provides more revealing insights into the history of parkway design. A century of ever-changing proposals illustrates the form's evolution from its mid-nineteenth-century origins in formal boulevards and meandering carriage drives through parks to its perfection in the "modern motorways" of the 1920s and 1930s, along with the postwar decline into freeways and urban expressways. The prolonged and heated debates over changes and proposed changes underscore the manner in which landscapes function quite literally as "contested terrain," where various groups and individuals express their conceptions of beauty, efficiency, and morality. The current parkway landscape is

the product of extensive negotiations between landscape architects, traffic engineers, city planners, politicians, business interests, and private citizens. The continuing debate over Rock Creek and Potomac Parkway reflects such enduring conflicts as the fiscal and political relationship between the federal government and the District of Columbia; the rights of landowners and private businesses versus broader conceptions of civic good; race- and class-based discrimination in the provision of public amenities; and competing notions of what constitutes urban improvement and who is best equipped to provide it.

The first detailed proposal for the improvement of lower Rock Creek valley appeared in 1893, the same year the Duryea Brothers produced the first practical American automobile. This study examined the possibility of enclosing Rock Creek in a concrete culvert and filling in most of the valley in order to contain sewage and form a level connection between Georgetown and Washington. A grand, tree-lined boulevard would then be built above the course of the old creek, creating an elegant avenue linking the Mall and the newly created Rock Creek Park. Georgetown-based proponents argued that this approach would replace a polluted watercourse lined with tenements and ash heaps with a handsome boulevard that would form the spine of a high-class residential district, bolstering the city's appearance and tax base and swelling the fortunes of local businessmen. A rival proposal prepared for the Washington Board of Trade recommended rehabilitating the polluted valley and creating a picturesque carriage road along the winding stream. This informal landscape would be more in keeping with contemporary trends in park design, but would remove land from tax rolls and perpetuate Georgetown's social and economic isolation from the central city. The 1901 Senate Park Commission made the parkway a key element of its proposals for the improvement of Washington, recommending the informal streamside drive "on the grounds of economy, convenience, and beauty." The first detailed plans accompanied a 1908 report that definitively rejected the boulevard treatment as inappropriate and exorbitantly expensive. Henry Ford was just rolling out his first Model T, but these proposals made no references to the needs of motorists. The parkway was authorized by Congress in 1913, but little progress was made until the 1920s, when the automobile had begun to profoundly reshape American life.

The rapid proliferation of automobiles created new concerns for parkway designers. Tensions between the seemingly contradictory goals of scenic preservation and efficient transportation—between "park" and "way"—were exacerbated by the constricted terrain of Rock Creek valley and by continuing development along the valley's edges. Modifications to the plans included the elimination of entranceways and border roads, construction of a short section of divided driveway, and a general reduction of picturesque design features. These changes diminished the parkway's ability to function as a local recreation area, but made it more convenient for commuter traffic between central Washington and its northwest suburbs. Press reports and official pronouncements generally embraced this transformation. The Washington *Evening Star* greeted the park-



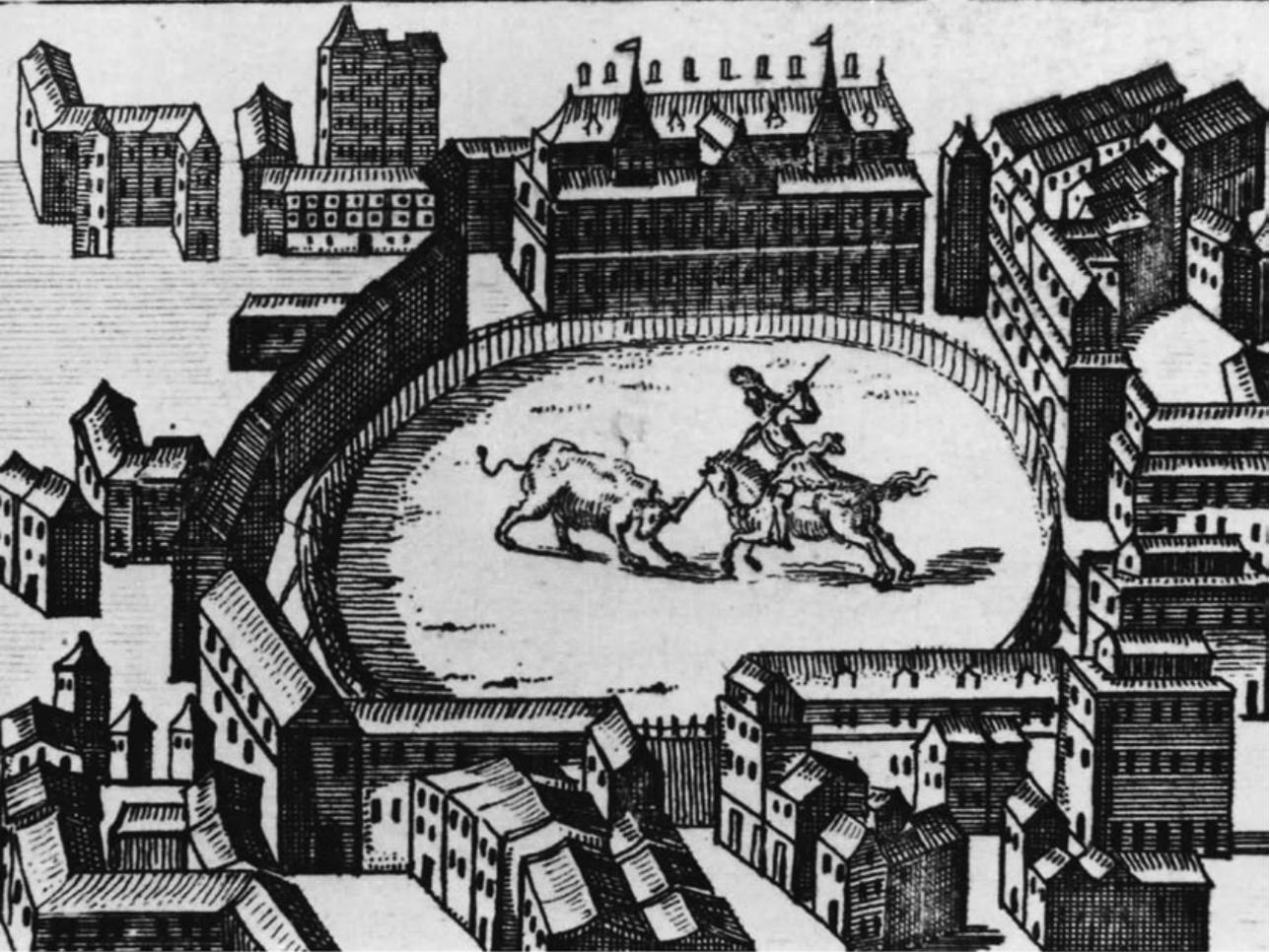
Rock Creek and Potomac Parkway, 1933. District of Columbia Public Library, Washingtoniana Collection

way's completion with the announcement, "Motorists from Chevy Chase-Bethesda area will have the privilege of riding downtown through a veritable fairyland, a natural setting for nature's own worship, and not so much as a traffic light to impede progress." The newspaper proudly proclaimed, "There is, perhaps, no city in the world offering so much beauty for those going to work."

Despite this high praise, the parkway rapidly proved inadequate for peak traffic demands. During the 1940s and 1950s, highway engineers made several minor improvements and advocated major renovations aimed at increasing the parkway's carrying capacity. Citizens' protests, changing planning priorities, and the construction of the Washington Metro system have kept additional development at bay, but balancing the needs of commuters with the desire to preserve the parkway's scenic and recreational resources remains a formidable challenge for park managers and city planners.

[University of Texas at Austin]
Chester Dale Fellow, 1994–1995

Place Mayor des Combats de Taureau x.



Artist unknown, *Place Mayor des Combats de Taureau*, eighteenth century, after Manceli plan of Madrid, 1622. From *Carte du Gouvernement de la Cour d'Espagne*. Photograph: Julián Velázquez Vidal

The Plaza Mayor of Madrid: Architecture and Urbanism for the Capital of Spain, 1560–1630

A glance at any recent bibliography of early modern urbanism illustrates that, among European capitals, Madrid has been neglected by scholars. I spent my fellowship year in Spain and Washington drafting the text of my dissertation on one of the greatest transformations of Madrid, the Plaza Mayor and its environs. Using archival documents, maps, plans, contemporary paintings, and surviving buildings, my project pieces together the metamorphosis of a medieval market square into the central monument of an early modern and imperial capital.

When Madrid was chosen to serve as the political center of Spain in 1561, the “very noble and loyal” town had little more than nine thousand inhabitants. Following the move of the Habsburg monarchy and court to Madrid, it was rapidly transformed into the cosmopolitan capital of a world empire. Madrid became an architectural laboratory in which ideas received from Spanish-controlled cities such as Cuzco or Milan, as well as from Paris or Rome, were tried and developed. These imported notions about buildings and urban spaces were adapted to the scale and grandeur befitting the new capital, and then sent out again into the Spanish realm.

The Plaza Mayor is a prime example of architectural experimentation in Madrid. Based on traditional Castilian urban architecture as well as the reinterpretation of ancient and contemporary ideals, the planned city square came to symbolize the urban order sought by the Spanish government in the capital and beyond. In the illustrations of Andean towns by the colonial author Felipe Guamán Poma de Ayala for his *Nueva corónica*, a manuscript completed in 1605, the geometrically regular *plaza mayor* signified the achievement of “buen gobierno.” Beyond its symbolic political meaning, the *plaza mayor* served as the stage for manifold celebrations of life in the Spanish city. On most days, the Plaza Mayor of Madrid was the backdrop for a market of comestible and household goods; on special occasions, it was transformed into an amphitheater for the entertainment of the capital city. From the outset of its reform following the arrival of the court in Madrid, the Plaza Mayor witnessed such spectacles as the solemn entry of Felipe II on his return from Lisbon in 1583; the bullfights and jousts celebrated in honor of the visiting Prince of Wales in 1623; and the masses and fireworks held for the canonization of San Isidro in 1620. Likewise, each summer the square was transformed for the popular “festivals of the bulls” to mark the feast days of San Juan and Santa Ana.

Because visual evidence for my project is scarce, much of my research entails the interpretation of written documents to extract information that has gone unremarked or been overlooked by earlier scholars. From the information I have gathered, a tale of property sales, land speculation, and architectural design

emerges. Unexpected findings have led me to reevaluate the ideas of “city” and “modernity” in early modern Spain, with implications for other parts of Europe. The written record casts doubt on long-held assumptions about the attribution of major urban undertakings to individuals—most notably in this case, to the royal architect Juan de Herrera. In my work, I focus on the complexities of urban reform from within the hierarchical administration of the capital city of Habsburg Spain. The voices of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century *madriños* recorded in the notarial archives have enriched my study in ways I did not envision at the outset.

Newly uncovered documents, such as a street-cleaning contract of 1586 in which the humble laborer Juan Gómez narrates his work itinerary, have helped me reconstruct the largely unexplored history of the Plaza Mayor prior to 1617. Previous studies of Madrid’s main square have presented a piecemeal history of what is defined as a baroque architectural monument—a definition which is problematic in two ways. First, to examine the Plaza Mayor solely as architecture is to slight the built environment from which the square was formed. Second, to date the Plaza Mayor’s inception to its reform by Juan Gómez de Mora of 1617–1619, an error repeated in every modern guidebook, is to divorce the square from its history of sixteenth-century urban reform. My study seeks to understand the Plaza Mayor project as a continuously evolving process of building and design that transcends period labels as well as the definition of architecture in Spain at the turn of the seventeenth century.

In May of this year, I came across an unpublished architectural plan in the municipal archive of Madrid. Dating to 1618, it is the only known visual record of interior spaces above the ground floor of the Plaza Mayor. The plan depicts apartments and rooms for viewing festivals, offering a clue to the dual residential and institutional uses of the multiple-story architecture framing the square. Indeed, the combined private and public nature of the architecture, which varied with the ceremonial calendar of the capital, remains one of the distinctive traits of the Plaza Mayor.

At the Center for Advanced Study and in Princeton, I was able to complete a draft of the dissertation which I will revise and defend in the coming year.

[Princeton University]
Chester Dale Fellow, 1994–1995

Hagiographical Cycles: The Case of the Forty Martyrs of Sebaste

Byzantine art presented the Forty Martyrs, the Roman soldiers who persisted in their Christian belief and perished in the lake of Sebaste in Armenia in the fourth century, in two ways. Most often, the Forty Martyrs, *Hagioi Tessarakonga*, were shown in the martyrdom scene, exposed on the frozen lake; less frequently they were shown as a row of individual portraits. My work examines the second type and its appearance within fresco decoration of the church of the Archangel Michael at the monastery of Lesnovo (c. 1346).

It has been noted that frescoes of the Forty Martyrs of Sebaste have an apotropaic character. This conclusion rests on the position of their representations within the architectural structure and the regularity of the disposition of these martyrs' portraits. They occupy places on the walls of the churches that were, in a case of damage to the building, most vulnerable to collapse. From the tenth and eleventh centuries onward, such examples are found in a number of monuments originating in a wide territory of the Byzantine world (the Balkans, Capadocia, Russia). When placed on walls, the Forty Martyrs are painted in a horizontal zone above the standing figures of saints, and thus visually strengthen the wall. In some churches they appear on arches directly beneath the dome. In a third type, in Lesnovo, and also in the slightly older church in Kuceviste, both in Macedonia, these martyrs are painted around the lower zone of domes, forming rings around the bases of the vulnerable structure of the drums.

The belief in the prophylactic function of images of the Forty Martyrs of Sebaste derives, it seems certain, from canonical thought concerning the power of Christ's sacrifice, as well as of the sacrifice of Christian martyrs in general. As stated in an early written source, the church—founded by apostles—is based on martyrs. In Lesnovo and Kuceviste, this foundation was taken rather literally, the church being understood as building itself.

In this specific case, the question is, what caused this placement of images of the Forty Martyrs? Was it the superstition of the iconographer and founder of Lesnovo? Or, on the contrary, should one suppose that such a fresco, by its placement, expresses profound and knowledgeable thinking on the part of its iconographical creator? In both cases, hagiography of these saints does not solve the whole problem. Nor does our awareness that the founder of the church, Jovan Oliver, as a high-ranking nobleman and warrior, most probably venerated the Forty Martyrs of Sebaste as warrior saints whose representations were thus suitable for this church. It is in fact through recognition of the character of the rest of the painting in the nave of Lesnovo—which is apocryphal in many other instances—that the half-official, apotropaic function of the fresco of the Forty Martyrs can be inferred.

The program of fresco decoration in the nave of Lesnovo is of a distinctly



Lesnovo Monastery,
*The Forty Martyrs of Sebaste
and Evangelist John*, c. 1346,
northeast pendentive. Author
photograph

monastic character and was, in all probability, made under the supervision and care of the *hegumen* and monks of this monastery. They promoted the cults of local hermit-saints and that of Saint Gabriel of Lesnovo, who is depicted several times in the church. Some compositions express ideas characteristic of a monastic community and its perceptions; there are frescoes portraying such themes as vanquishing temptation, of repentance or spiritual and corporeal healing. Popular, noncanonical beliefs are quite obvious in a few unusual and unique frescoes from the Cycle of the Archangels. A number of instances show that the content of the nave of Lesnovo paintings, including presentations of the Forty Martyrs of Sebaste in the drum, responded to the taste and views of a remote monastic brotherhood.

University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign
Ailsa Mellon Bruce Visiting Senior Fellow, winter 1995

BARBARA GAEHTGENS

The Queen's Two Bodies: Images of Regencies

Traditionally early modern French history is viewed as a succession of male rulers. But this outlook does not take into account that male succession occasionally was interrupted by periods when a king's widowed wife assumed power for her underage son. These political disruptions and their art-historical impact were at the center of my research in Washington.

Between 1560 and 1660 three French queens established regencies on the deaths of their husbands: Catherine de' Medici for Charles IX, Maria de' Medici for Louis XIII, and Anne of Austria for Louis XIV. These regency periods often are considered "transitional" in history and art history alike. In other words, the political and artistic innovations of these periods usually are attributed to the preceding or succeeding epochs.

The incorrectness of this assumption is proven by the wealth of outstanding works of art created during these "transitional" eras. Historical paintings, decorative cycles, engravings, medals, tapestries, sculpture, tombs, and architecture all bear witness that the queen regents considered these times to be periods of political and cultural significance. They employed the visual arts not just to secure the succession of an underage king, but also to make specific assertions about themselves and the importance of their regency both for the young king and the state.

Because the role of the queen regent as the sole executor for her son was not established in French law, she had literally to seize control by a coup d'état. Lacking legitimation, queen regents sought to justify their position through a diverse array of visual propaganda that focused on historical female prototypes, on their connection to their deceased husbands, or on their role as educators of their sons.

At the center of my research is the question of how the various widowed queens used the visual arts to legitimate their actions, to preserve the dynasty, and to maintain the status quo. One of my goals was to determine whether the widowed queens consciously evolved an ideology of regency and whether it manifested itself in thematic and stylistic visual representations shared by all female regents. In short: are there political and pictorial patterns of regency?

After spending time in Paris gathering extensive documentation about works of art either commissioned by the queens or created in their honor, I focused on several issues in Washington. Initially, I researched the general history of regencies. In so doing I immersed myself in issues of constitutional, legal, and ceremonial matters, areas that normally do not concern an art historian. Such understanding is necessary to comprehend the exceptional political situation of the queen mother's regency for her son, the legal heir.

To elucidate the transference of power from queen to queen regent, I first investigated the status and rights of French queens. Visual depictions that the regents subsequently commissioned of their years as queens consciously interpret



Guillaume Dupr , *Young Louis and Minerva* (reverse), 1610
Louis XIII, 1601–1643, King of France 1610 (obverse), 1610
National Gallery of Art, Washington, Samuel H. Kress Collection

their prior obligations as preparations and legitimation for their current position of responsibility. In this context the Medici cycle for Maria de' Medici is of particular interest, as is a series of illustrations for Catherine de' Medici by Antoine Caron. The latter work, entitled *L'Histoire francoyse de notre temps* (c. 1562–1572, Musée du Louvre, Cabinet des Dessins), has yet to receive the scholarly attention it deserves. In my opinion it is the decisive document in the regent's efforts to secure for herself a position of importance within the succession of the Valois kings. Into the dynastic depictions of the French kings and their deeds from Francis I to Charles IX, Catherine has inserted her arrival in France, accompanied by her great uncle Pope Clement VII Medici; her marriage; the birth of her children; and her regency for her son Charles IX. All these episodes consciously praise the influx of Medici influence and culture while also insinuating they are part of the continuum of French history.

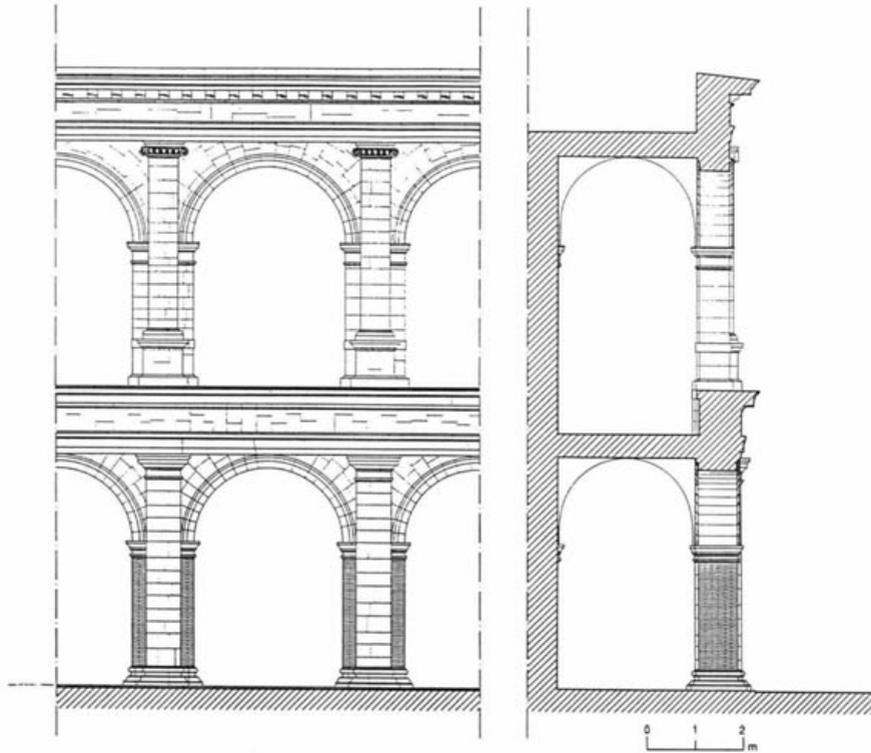
The death of the king marked the beginning of every regency. Building on Ralph Giesey's thesis that elaborate burial ceremonies in sixteenth-century France were a visual demonstration of complex royal ideology, I examined how the queen inserted herself into portrayals of the king's death and burial ceremony and thereby took "control" of the depiction and content of these events. Thereafter, I investigated representations of the transfer of power; that is, those works of art that gave visual form to the queen's fictive assumption of governmental authority. Ernst Kantorowicz in his book on the king's two bodies does not mention that the belief in two different bodies—one natural and one political, one human and one sacred—was updated and reformulated during the sixteenth and the seventeenth centuries on behalf of the widows of Henri II, Henri IV, and Louis XIII, to document the transfer of power from the dead king to a queen regent.

Finally those works were considered in which the regent was depicted in her role as teacher of the young king. Images of tutelage were an especially forceful representation of the regents' legitimacy.

A medal by Guillaume Dupré (1576–1643) created in the first year of Maria de' Medici's regency (National Gallery of Art, Washington) depicts the regent as Minerva instructing young Louis XIII. While the recto contains a portrait of the king, the inscription on the verso reads *ORIENS TUTRICE MINERVA*. Portrayed in the guise of the Roman goddess Minerva, the regent becomes the embodiment of good and wise government. While her son holds the orb, she holds the olive branch and thunderbolt as symbols of peace and power.

My research explored a hitherto underestimated body of art objects created during the regencies of three subsequently reigning queen mothers, and will result in a book on the cultural politics of French queen regents between 1560 and 1660.

Technische Universität, Berlin
Frese Senior Research Fellow, 1994–1995



The 'cortile d'onore' of the Cività Castellana fortress: perspectival and sectional drawing of a typical bay. Redrawn by the author from the original by S. Brezzi reproduced in Arnaldo Bruschi, *L'architettura a Roma al tempo di Alessandro VI: Antonio da Sangallo il Vecchio, Bramante e l'Antico* in *Bollettino d'Arte* 29, 67–90

The cortile d'onore in Civit  Castellana Fortress: The Architecture of Antonio da Sangallo the Elder, the Papacy of Alexander VI, and the Antico: A New Reading of the Years 1499–1503.

After the popes' return to Rome, following their period of exile in Avignon, the city became an arena of conflicts and alliances between papal power and municipal forces. Architecture progressively evolved toward the accession of a persuasive *instrumentum regni*. During this time, it is possible to notice a *renovation Romae* that uses architecture—and the architects employed by popes—to exalt an explicit *renovatio imperii*, beginning in particular with the papacy of Niccol  V (1447–1455).

Despite differences between the various pontificates during the second half of the fifteenth century and three decades of the sixteenth century, architecture in Rome offers itself as a range of architectural languages imported from abroad or autochthonous. In fact, the case of Rome is unique compared to other cities in that period such as Florence, Venice, and Milan. Originally Rome, with the variety of personages who populated the Curia and the business world associated with it, was the starting point or point of arrival for many successful architects and craftsmen. By going to Rome, leaving Rome, or staying in Rome, these architects and craftsmen experimented with their own language through architectural compositions and projects. At the same time, the Roman curial entourage provided these artists with the possibility of being employed in projects not specifically Roman. Thus economic, social, and religious factors allowed architects to test and experiment with their own personal ideas and to develop inventions about the language of architecture—but only subordinate to papal interests and necessities.

From the “obscure” presence in Rome of Leon Battista Alberti (which has yet to be studied in its entirety) during the papacy of Niccol  V, and continuing through the professional activities of such major figures as Bernardo Rossellino, Francesco del Borgo, Aristotele Fioravanti, and Baccio Pontelli up to Antonio da Sangallo, *il vecchio*, Giuliano da Sangallo, Fra Giocondo, and Donato Bramante, Rome was crowded with architects as well as craftsmen (like Meo del Caprino, Andrea Bregno, Jacopo da Pietrasanta, Giovannino de' Dolci, Paolo da Campagnano, and Manfredo Lombardo) who waited to be situated between the masters and the common craftsmen. Between the two concise lists of names one can find points of contact, as well as obvious differences in the ways they thought, designed, and realized architectural projects.

A central figure within this group was Antonio Giamberti da Sangallo, the elder (1455–1534), partner of his more famous brother Giuliano da Sangallo. In fact, the work of Antonio, the elder, in Rome and particularly outside of Rome during the papacy of Alexander VI, reveals that this rarely studied architect was

one of the most significant figures of the *età di mezzo* between Bramante and Giuliano da Sangallo, on the one hand, and between Raffaello, Baldassare Peruzzi, and Antonio da Sangallo, the younger, on the other.

By investigating his original architectural inventions and determining his involvement in projects frequently ascribed or attributed to architects more famous than he, the activity of Antonio, the elder, in Rome can be clarified. Moreover, his experiences and works are also significant for the period in which he lived, a period of transition characterized by the coexistence of different architectural languages. Antonio's works, then, are notable because they offer a synthesis of these formal conflicts. In addition, they contributed to a professional way of working independently from regional styles.

Starting with the rectangular courtyard in the Cività Castellana fortress (1494–1501), it is amazing to find one of the earliest examples of the reuse of the classical language of architecture (the system of classical orders), in an *all'antica* style. This particular courtyard shows how this architect-engineer tested the *all'antica* languages of architecture. It is an astonishing “fragment” (following Gustave Flaubert's or Walter Benjamin's concept of fragmentation) that discloses “new” aspects about the papal architectural enterprises of the late fifteenth century.

The *cortile d'onore* with the reuse of arches framed by architectural orders according to an overlaid system of Tuscan-Doric pilasters on the ground floor and Ionic pilasters on the *piano nobile* recalls directly an analogical memory of the Coliseum. Thus, new light illuminated the Renaissance architecture and the buildings to be realized in Rome of the cinquecento.

The *new* fragment of the *all'antica* style reveals that the papal strategies of dominion were about to alter the traditional urban aspects of “Republican” Rome. A *renovatio Romae* would be built from the “fortezza-in-forma-di-palazzo,” to paraphrase Vasari's description of the architecture of the Urbino palace by Francesco di Giorgio Martini.

From outside of Rome, the “old-new-classical language” would arrive in Rome itself. Bramante then would be the architect who would continue and begin to codify the rules of the classical language, the rules of the architectural orders—but only after the early “experimental fragment” and just after the new one-way-street drawn by Antonio da Sangallo, the elder.

Another question to be raised is: why would a pope such as Alexander VI need to reinvent classical language and in a place far from Rome? But this is another story, even larger than the previous one—a topic to explore and investigate further in my work in progress.

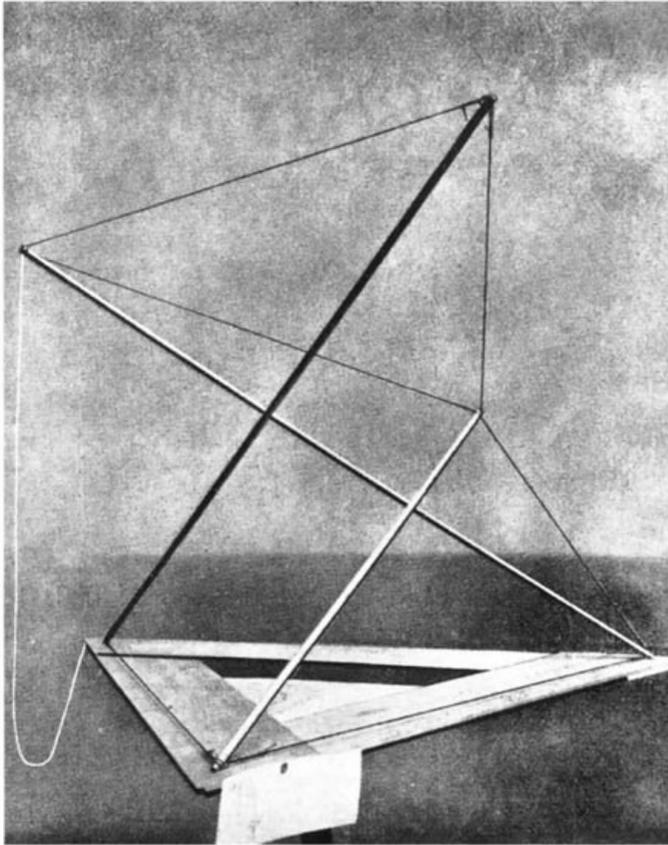
Terza Università di Roma
Paul Mellon Visiting Senior Fellow, fall 1994

MARIA GOUGH

The Moscow Experiment: Karl Ioganson and Russian Constructivism

My year at the Center has been devoted to the completion of my dissertation: an examination of the practice of “experimentation” that underscores the constructivist endeavor throughout the years of its instantiation in Moscow in the early 1920s. The first part reexamines this practice in its so-called “pure” modality: experimentation conceived as an explicitly formal enterprise. Particular emphasis is given to the constructivists’ theoretical debates, with close attention to the forging therein of a new lexicon of art-making. Each chapter focuses on one of the three institutional settings of constructivism: the new Museum of Pictorial Culture (the MZhK), the Institute of Artistic Culture (the INKhUK), and the May 1921 exhibition of the Society of Young Artists (the OBMOKhU). In the second part I trace the further practice of constructivist experimentation as it confronted the profoundly altered conditions obtaining within the INKhUK after its members’ en masse rejection of easel painting in November 1921 in favor of the artist’s direct involvement in industry. Constructivism’s history is often described in a singular fashion, in terms of the abandonment of formal laboratory experimentation for the sake of the production of utilitarian objects for the amelioration of daily life. By analyzing the activity of those constructivists who sought alternatives to an uncritical adoption of the productivist position, however, I argue against the reductive oppositions of formal and social, pure and applied, theoretical and practical, speculative and utilitarian, on which accounts of constructivism’s rapid dissolution into productivism have hitherto been founded.

The evidence for my argument is both critical and “archaeological”: through research in the Russian and Latvian repositories, I have uncovered new information concerning an important but previously unstudied member of the constructivist group in Moscow, the Latvian Karl Ioganson (Karlis Johansons). I discovered that Ioganson’s role in the elaboration of the constructivist ethos, both within its institutional contexts and after their demise, had been more central than previously supposed, leading me to focus my dissertation more monographically than originally envisaged. My argument is that Ioganson’s work (both his artistic production and his theory) offers the clearest case study of the problems the constructivists confronted. An analysis of Ioganson’s “experimentation” before and after November 1921 demonstrates not only the artist’s centrality to constructivism in its early phase, but also that his foregrounding of invention (*izobretenie*), rather than utilitarianism (*utilitarnost’*) as the appropriate site of the constructivist’s endeavor, reveals an engagement with the productivist position that is, at once, more pragmatic and more theoretical. The tenacity of Ioganson’s conviction in this regard leads, finally, to what I suggest is the more radical constructivist conception: the work as process or system (*sistema*), rather than as object or thing (*veshch’*).



Karl Ioganson (Karl Johanson), *Spatial Construction*, 1921. From László Moholy-Nagy, *Von Material zu Architektur* (Munich, 1929), pl. 116. National Gallery of Art, Washington

I discuss Ioganson's earliest contact with the Moscow avant-garde during his employ in the Museum of Pictorial Culture. The museum's early acquisition of a significant number of examples by Rodchenko, Ioganson, and others, of what was advanced as a new artistic form—"spatial construction"—challenged the museum's hitherto singular profile as a painting collection. I then analyze the extended debate over the principles of "composition" and "construction" held in the INKhUK during the spring of 1921. The chief preoccupation of the debate was the elimination of superfluity (or excess) in the materials and elements of a work of art. This represented an unprecedented attempt within avant-garde circles to formally institutionalize the modernist problem of the motivation of the arbitrary, and also the staging of a *topos* vivid in early Soviet culture in

general: the Bolshevik obsession with defining and excising superfluity. The most fully theorized visual statement of these principles was, I argue, that advanced by Ioganson, whose constructivist position cut directly across more traditional notions of alliance based on compatriotism (as a Latvian) or on professional expertise (as a sculptor). The original group of seven constructivists came into being within the context of this debate, which served in turn as an apologia for the new form of “spatial constructions” that were first exhibited in the OBMOKhU exhibition of May 1921. This exhibition, I suggest, reveals a conflict within the constructivist group between two propositions, each made in the name of construction: on the one hand, the model (“the plan in little of some large work”) and on the other, the modulus (“the modular unit or system of absolute value”), which I believe functioned in the Moscow of 1921 as its radical antithesis.

Part two of the thesis addressed Ioganson’s response to the dilemma faced by the INKhUK from the fall of 1921 until it ceased to function in early 1924: how could a fine artist with no technical training contribute to industrial production other than as an applied artist? A taxonomy of constructivist positions on the object is presented, in order to establish the discourse within which Ioganson’s *Electrical circuit/representation/* (a drawing of 1922 in the Costakis collection), may be read as a metaphor of the constructivist work defined as a resistance to, or a failure of confidence in, the integrity of the self-sufficient object, irrespective of the realm of its production. I examine Ioganson’s proposal of “invention” as the appropriate field of the constructivist’s activity in production, a rhetorically efficient move, since an appeal to invention as a realm beyond the already codified knowledge of technology mitigates, at least in principle, the “tragedy” of the constructivist’s lack of technical expertise. I discuss Ioganson’s invention of industrial devices, systems, and processes for the raising of economic productivity during his employ in a metal-working factory. Ioganson, I suggest, takes up the arguments being advanced by his fellow INKhUKists Boris Kushner and Nikolai Tarabukin. Finally, I look at Ioganson’s later activity as an ideologue, agitator, and party organizer at the factory. As a coda, I briefly consider the constructivist’s final occupation as an organizer of “soviet” leisure in the late 1920s. My discussion of his response to the INKhUK’s dilemma indicates that Ioganson does not unaccountably drop the constructivists and disappear without further trace into the factory, as has been thought, but that his adoption of a Taylorist ambition in the organization of both labor and leisure brought the constructivist project for the union of art and life to its most rigorous, if disturbing, conclusion.

[Harvard University]
Paul Mellon Fellow, 1992–1995



Joos van Cleve, *Madonna and Child*, c. 1511/1515 (present location unknown). Photograph: Rijksbureau voor Kunsthistorische Documentatie, The Hague

The Paintings of Joos van Cleve

My project has as its ultimate goal a monograph and catalogue raisonné of the paintings of Joos van Cleve, who was active between about 1505/1508 and 1540/1541. The fellowship represented at once a return, after many years, to the subject of my doctoral dissertation and the opportunity to begin again a study of this artist in the light of recent scholarship and utilizing my experience in the field of northern Renaissance art.

My activities consisted of travel, research, and writing. With regard to the first I have endeavored to examine paintings by, or attributed to, Joos van Cleve that I had not previously seen and to return to major works that either I had not seen for a long time or that had been recently cleaned, such as the *Lamentation* triptych of 1524 (Städelsches Kunstinstitut, Frankfurt). I visited Warsaw, Cracow, Dresden, Bruges, Brussels, Antwerp, Amsterdam, Munich, Frankfurt, Modena, Florence, and Rome, and plan to visit Cologne and such Lower Rhenish cities as Kleve and Kalkar. Also included were several days spent using the excellent photographic archive and library of the Rijksbureau voor Kunsthistorische Documentatie in The Hague.

I have approached research and writing as integrated activities, and proceeding in approximate chronological order, I drafted text and catalogue entries on Joos' earliest works. Until 1511 when he first appeared on the Antwerp guild lists as a master, there is no mention of him, and despite the clear reference to the region or the city of Kleve in the name "Joos van der Beke alias van Cleve," no extra-artistic documentation of his presence in the Lower Rhine has been found. It has long been thought, however, that Joos' first training took place in this region and that he worked with Jan Joest on the painted shutters of the high altar in the church of Saint Nicholas in Kalkar, which was completed in 1508–1509. This was rather dramatically confirmed in 1972 by Jan Białostocki, who discovered Joos' self-portrait in the scene of the *Raising of Lazarus*. Since it would be unusual, I think, for an apprentice or journeyman to portray himself in an altarpiece, and there is no way of determining if Joest included his own portrait, this opens the door to speculation regarding Joos' position. Was he a member of Joest's atelier or had he achieved a quasi-independent status as an artist?

Netherlandish influence pervades Lower Rhenish painting of the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries and is quite evident in the work of Jan Joest. Thus it is no surprise to find that Joos' earliest dated work, the *Adam and Eve* of 1507 (Musée du Louvre, Paris), is stylistically affiliated both to Joest and to the art of Hans Memling and Gerard David in the southern Netherlands. I think it quite likely that Joos spent time in Bruges before moving to Antwerp. I do not consider to be autograph two paintings usually accepted as very early works by Joos van Cleve, the *Adoration of the Virgin and Child by Saint Bernard* (Musée du Louvre, Paris) and the *Descent from the Cross* (Staatliche Kunstsammlungen,

Gemäldegalerie, Dresden), but taken together they demonstrate, in their anonymity and their stylistic and iconographic complexity, the need for further investigation into the interaction of Netherlandish and Lower Rhenish art.

The *Madonna and Child* (present location unknown, formerly Rathenau collection, Berlin) probably dates c. 1511–1515 and illustrates several aspects of Joos van Cleve's use of Netherlandish prototypes. While the pose of the Virgin and Child goes back to a composition by Robert Campin (itself known through copies) that was used by Memling, Joos copied the distinctive physiognomy of Gerard David's Madonnas. Joos van Cleve's creation must have been a religious as well as a commercial success, for while the original is apparently lost, there exist numerous versions that range from workshop replicas to later copies far removed from the artist. The existence of these pictures serves also to remind one of the importance and vitality of the art commerce in Antwerp in the sixteenth century and that, rather than being commissioned, certain types of paintings were probably produced in multiples on speculation for sale in the marketplace.

Almost from the beginning, Joos was in charge of an active workshop. One of my tasks will be to distinguish and define, as far as possible, how the artist and his atelier produced paintings. In contrast to the previous notion of original versus workshop, we now acknowledge the complex relationship of artist and shop, which often responded to a variety of functional, devotional, or commercial factors. Between what is clearly original and what is clearly later work produced outside the control of the master, there are many difficult choices to be made.

With close to one hundred "core" paintings to consider, the project will obviously not be completed during my fellowship period, but this journey has indeed begun.

National Gallery of Art, Department of Northern Renaissance Painting
Ailsa Mellon Bruce National Gallery of Art Sabbatical Curatorial Fellow,
1994–1995

JODI HAUPTMAN

Vision and Spectatorship in the Work of Joseph Cornell: Stargazing in the Cinema

Born in 1903, artist Joseph Cornell grew up alongside the cinema, a witness to the medium's early milestones and maturation. During the course of his lifetime, the artist amassed a large archive of films, film stills, and film literature. With almost two hundred reels of motion pictures, the artist's collection included the gamut of American and foreign film production, from standards starring Charlie Chaplin to obscure French silents. His extensive collection of film stills was well known in New York and attracted the attention of publishers and editors. Cornell even put his knowledge of film to work, creating montages for a number of Hollywood publicity departments. The added benefit of such "hack-work," as he called it, was access to a range of movie memorabilia, some of which wound up as elements in his assemblages.

Not content to collect the traces of others' film production, Cornell also made his own movies. These included collage films composed of footage from early cinema, Hollywood productions, scientific and industrial pictures, and home movies as well as lyrical films that document experiences of wandering in New York City. Despite his evident commitment to such efforts—Cornell made approximately twenty films during his lifetime—not even making movies could match the pleasure he took in *watching them*. Cornell thrived on his almost daily visits to Manhattan and Queens movie theaters, and like any fan, he followed with zeal particular directors and stars. While he expressed interest in other arts (opera, ballet, and poetry) and constructed boxes with subject matter ranging from astronomy to fairy tales, it was his interest in *cinema* that in many ways guided his artistic production. With their glazed fronts, Cornell's box-constructions depend on barriers, albeit transparent, and distance between spectator and object viewed, creating a situation of having but not touching, of viewing without interacting. Looking into these boxes is the very exaggeration of the kind of voyeurism experienced in the cinema, while the cutting in both the artist's collages and visual-textual projects bears strong resemblance to filmmaking's editing strategies. Cornell's vision and aesthetic responses, however, were far from indifferent. His voyeuristic gaze and precise dissection were directed, most often and most consistently, at *women*.

As an artist-*flâneur*, infected with a disease he termed "metropomania," Cornell filled his voluminous diaries with tales of trailing young women and girls through dime stores and down city streets or watching them through the protective glass of a diner's front window. Too shy to actually engage with these people, he preferred to watch them from afar, transforming them with his eyes and his words into *visions* (to use his vocabulary), ephemeral, evanescent, transcendent. In the artist's experience, however, poetic phenomena were not limited to day-

light visions of women seen through windows and along city streets, but included views found in the darkness of the movie theater. Like Charles Baudelaire's oft-quoted description of the aura of a passing woman who strikes the *flâneur* like a "flash," the flickering light of the female movie star on screen is similarly momentary—and for the artist equally stunning.

Completed this year, my dissertation investigates both Cornell's voyeurism and his cinematic imagination—as well as the links between vision and desire. The project focuses on a group of portraits of female *movie stars*. These homages to Lauren Bacall, Deanna Durbin, Loïe Fuller, Greta Garbo, Rose Hobart, Jennifer Jones, and Hedy Lamarr take a variety of forms: boxes, collages, films, texts, and archives. With qualities as diverse and as similar as the actresses themselves, each of Cornell's portraits is inflected by the personality and reputation of the individual star, the movie in which she appeared, the moment of the film's release, and the setting in which the artist first saw the actress or was initially inspired to embark on the particular project. In addition to describing *how* the artist represents these movie stars, my dissertation investigates vision and spectatorship and expressions of longing—for the female body and its traces, for the past and its survivors, for children and their keepsakes. Complex and multilayered in form and content, Cornell's star homages address issues around the depiction and spectacularization of the female body, fandom and cinephilia, surrealism and the space of the city, and nostalgia and modernity.

In these portraits of women we see that Cornell reveled in each subject's ephemerality—movie stars are only projected light on a screen—and took pleasure in watching (from a distance) passing people and passing time. More urgent, however, was the artist's desire to hold these stars fast. Ultimately, Cornell's "stargazing" resulted in portraits that were also, to use the artist's words, "Crystal Cages": the actresses with whom Cornell was so enamored were locked away—but could still be seen—within cases of wood, and light, and glass.

[Yale University]
Wyeth Fellow, 1993–1995

Megalographia: *The Great Painted Rooms of the Roman Republican House*

I came to work on a comprehensive monograph on monumental figured wall-painting of the late Roman Republic, c. 80 to c. 20 B.C., that is, within the Second (Pompeian) Style of Roman wall painting. Second Style megalographic rooms were an Italian fashion of Rome and its belt of elite estates and colonized municipalities, from Bologna to the Bay of Naples. From the Augustan period Third and Fourth Style convention made large figuration into a fictive painting installed at wall center, but in the last century of the Republic and the early Augustan period, important figural representations were applied in zones that encircled the room. Foregrounded in the middle of the wall or in prospect at “window” height, figures occupied the same primary fictive world as their architectural frames, that is, a world proffered to the spectator for imaginary physical entrance—viewing itself, in ancient thought, being conceptualized as an active physical motion.

Some rooms or room fragments are broadly famous (for example, Livia’s Primaporta garden room, the Odyssey Landscapes, the Villa of the Mysteries, the Boscoreale oecus), but the many other examples are very little known (such as the Rooms of the Triton Caryatids or of the Poet Portraits). The sophisticated design and iconography formats of the Second Style demonstrably exert paradigmatic force on imperial monuments from Augustus’ Ara Pacis to Constantine’s Trier palace ceiling; I attempt for Romanist studies the first cohesive art history of Roman Republican figured wall-painting. These Second Style paintings can help reconstruct the lost corpus of Greek and Roman masterpiece painting, but to understand how they might transmit such high graphic culture, I try to come to terms with their primary character as house decoration. These are painted spaces designed to function successfully as three-dimensional enclosures, each individuated room embedded in a particular house in a particular way to serve some aspect of the normative ceremonies and pleasures of Roman domestic life. These three-dimensional image series and collages have symbiotic arrangements of form and meaning, and how those patterns were designed and viewed must be related to Roman design and reception in the other material arts and in literature. Research on such a project tends to accumulate by site files, which this fellowship has let me work up more fully. I focused sharply on thinking through the paintings’ architectural contexts as they bear on image interpretation. One example: the Mysteries Villa salon is usually treated as a cloistered, dark room whose paintings’ purpose is to document religious ritual. It is in fact a key reception suite at the center of a typical *pars urbana* peristyle complex, here everted about the prospect villa’s perimeter; this angle suite was originally opened, by means of an extraordinarily large window and two doors, as a kind of belvedere for viewing the great garden terraces and the country prospects beyond them. In response, much of the suite’s Dionysiac ornament (typical of gardens) seems con-



Pompeii, Villa of the Dionysiac Mysteries, Thiasos. Photograph: Anderson; Alinari/Art Resource, New York

cerned to pull indoors the themes of garden and country life. Other broad issues I investigated include: how to characterize the rooms' frequent divine images, in the light of actual Roman religious practice and other forms of domestic and religious art; and how the demonstrable Italian quality of much surviving Second Style figure painting might modulate the still-typical assertion that the subjects of Roman wall painting were understood to be Greek as opposed to Roman.

Other projects occupied me also. For the publication of the October 1994 Harvard conference "Greece in Rome" (in *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*), I am finishing an article on Roman awareness of Hellenistic art, a prolegomenon to reassessing the significant historical impact of Attalid Pergamon on styles of Roman art and political patronage from the second century B.C. to the first century A.D.; a critical exemplum is the pairing of Pergamene and Roman foundation myths, observable for example on the Ara Pacis. Since summer I have collaborated with Alina Payne and R. Smick to prepare for publication twenty-five papers from a University of Toronto conference, "Antiquity and Antiquity Transumed" (April 1994), as an interdisciplinary volume on the Renaissance response to antique models. My paper is on the Basilica Aemilia façade drawing in Giuliano da Sangallo's Vatican sketchbook; at the Center for Advanced Study I investigated further Sangallo's interest in inventing as well as observing ruination, an originally painterly strategy which Serlio would further exploit.

University of Pennsylvania
Paul Mellon Senior Fellow, 1994–1995

DONALD McCOLL

Christ and the Woman of Samaria: Studies in Art and Piety in the Age of the Reformation

In the time afforded by my fellowship, I substantially completed the research, here and abroad, for my doctoral dissertation, presented papers on preliminary findings of that research, and wrote drafts of three chapters of the dissertation. I also completed an article on the Early Christian statuettes representing Jonah and the Good Shepherd in the Cleveland Museum of Art, about which I spoke at the Middle Atlantic Symposium in the History of Art at the National Gallery of Art (1991).

Focusing on early modern images of the Samaritan woman (John 4:1–42), my dissertation addresses critical issues in the study of the relations between art and the Reformation, including the clash between an intensely visual culture and iconoclastic theology, questions of sectarian content, and the social functions of art. Central is the issue of interpretation—the extent to which, and the manner in which, the meaning(s) of works of art are retrievable. Despite fundamental advances in our understanding of the Reformation, studies of “Protestant art” are still often colored by sectarian interests, teleological views of history, and limited approaches to meaning; images are often read as “reflections” of extrinsic factors, as opposed to participants in a culture in which sacred images were widely believed to have power over life and death. Following scholars including Michael Baxandall, David Freedberg, and Aby Warburg before them, I take a broad view of Reformation-related art, not only gauging it against developments in Catholicism and the later Renaissance as a whole, but also giving considerable weight in interpretation to objects generally excluded from art-historical studies and to the reception of works of art. Images of the Samaritan woman demand such an approach, for the central feature of her story, a well, was the focus of so much of the piety attacked by the Reformers. “Catholics could still be found in 1700 at holy wells, kneeling up to their necks in icy water to say their penitential prayers, probably for fornication” (John Bossy, *Christianity in the West, 1400–1700*), the sin most commonly associated with the Samaritan woman. Despite their efforts to wrench apart the sacred and the profane, even Protestants were thought to have Christ-like powers over the “well of water springing up into everlasting life” offered to the Samaritan woman by Christ. One tale tells how Luther cursed Orlamünde’s wells, so that they either dried up or became bitter after a hostile reception given him by Andreas Bodenstein von Karlstadt’s supporters in that town.

This is not to say that I ignore what David Summers calls “the relation of thinking to making.” (*The Judgment of Sense: Renaissance Naturalism and the Rise of Aesthetics*). Like Summers, “I have tried to write—or contribute to the writing of—a history of definite relations not animated by the spirits and forces that seem necessary to give cogency to isolated histories, but rather shaped by human

choices and acts made in the face of the consequences of previous human choices and acts." The power of the Samaritan woman's story was such that some artists stopped producing sacred images altogether. But the reformers themselves expressed grave doubts about the legacy of their battles with the enemies of the Gospel. Visitation records reveal shocking discrepancies between principle and practice. There were serious misunderstandings in Luther's immediate circle—in one instance, a student's mistranscription in the *Tischreden* makes it appear that Luther said that Christ was guilty of adultery three times, once with the "woman at the well."

While a chronological survey of the material runs the risk of lacking specificity and uncritically following categories with built-in conclusions, like "Reformation," "Catholic Reformation," and "Counter-Reformation," a thematic approach may overlook the sequence of important events or of developments over the *longue durée*, such as "secularization." Thus I have opted for chapters that, while broadly chronological, consist of an interconnected series of "microhistories," with close attention paid to the strategies and interactions of artists, patrons, advisors, and audiences of various sectarian persuasions—Lutheran, Reformed, Anabaptist, Spiritualist, Franciscan, Jesuit, and so on. These "microhistories" begin chronologically well before the traditional advent of the Reformation, 1517, and end roughly with Pierre Perrault's *Treatise on the Origins of Springs* of 1674, which did much to curtail mystical notions about the waters coursing in the bowels of the earth so important to early modern European interpretations of the story of the Samaritan woman.

The *Samariterinbrunnen* (fountain of the Samaritan woman) in Fribourg (Freiburg-im-Uechtland), executed in 1550 or 1551 by Hans Gieng, is the focus of one such "microhistory." Fribourg, originally part of a political alliance (*combourgeoisie*) with Geneva and Bern, split with these cities in 1534. At the heart of this split were questions of the nature of worship. At the Dispute de Rive in Geneva in 1535, the Protestant delegation framed Christ's words to the Samaritan woman in a rhetorical question aimed at abolishing images altogether: "Seeing that we are a spiritual people, who ought to serve God in spirit and in truth, how can we have any images or honor them?" Images were increasingly subjected to desecration and destruction in the region, often being subjected to a "drowning" in a sewer or well. But in Fribourg, soon to be an island of Catholicism in a sea of Protestant ascendancy, iconoclasm was met with stubborn, often violent, resistance. The city's fountains, delivering cool, clear water to the community, with all its metaphysical associations, and paid for by the guilds that most vehemently rejected reform (in the case of the *Samariterinbrunnen*, the tanners' guild, whose members fouled the city's water), were often raised at the sites of attacks on images. Something of Catholics' jubilation at the suppression of the Reformation in Fribourg is evident in the *Samariterinbrunnen's* bright polychromy (now faded), metal adornments, and triumphal classical vocabulary, from the column upon which it rests, to the wreath framing the image of Saint Nicholas of Flüe, the saint who not only helped usher

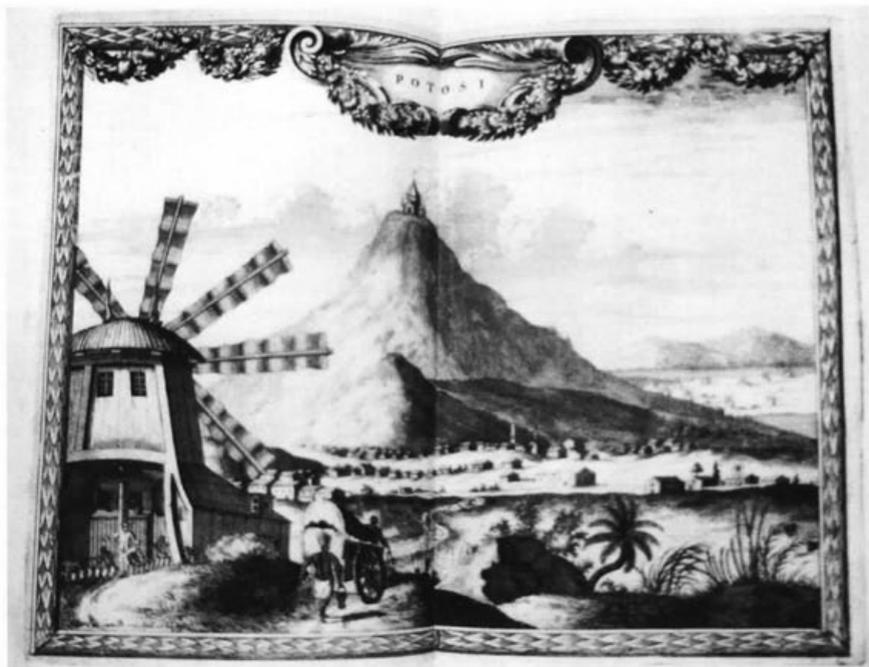


Hans Gieng, *Samariterinbrunnen*,
1550/1551. Musée d'Art et d'Histoire,
Fribourg

the Swiss cantons into confederation, but was himself thought to have created an extraordinary devotional image, then venerated at Sachseln. But that labels like “Protestant” and “Catholic” do not hold is evidenced by the fact that Protestants in the region also recognized the didactic benefits of a public fountain, commissioning in 1570 such a work for the Grand Place of Yverdon, with the subject “true religion,” which predates a similar formulation in Cesare Ripa’s *Iconologia*. And shortly after completing his works in Fribourg, Hans Gieng went to Protestant Bern in order to execute a series of fountains with secular subjects, including *Justitia*, depicted with an unflattering image of the pope underfoot.

[University of Virginia]

Robert H. and Clarice Smith Fellow, 1993–1994



Pieter van der Aa, *View of Potosí*. From *Galerie agréable du monde* (Leiden, 1729)

FERNANDO MARÍAS
RICHARD L. KAGAN

Urbs and Civitas in Spain and Spanish America, 1500–1750

Topographical images of cities and towns constitute an artistic genre that emerged in Europe during the Renaissance and has continued to flourish ever since. Over the centuries, the genre has divided into a variety of subgenres that range from mathematically precise ground plans to artful *vedute* and touristic picture postcards. Our project proposes to examine the production and uses of city views within the linked cultures of Spain and Spanish America during their formative phase from 1500 to 1750.

Once strictly the preserve of historians of cartography and architectural historians interested in the physical and material appearance of cities, city views have recently begun to attract the attention of scholars in other disciplines. If architectural historians used these images primarily to extract information about individual historians or a city's overall layout and design, art historians tend to use them for other purposes. Some are attracted to city views for their intrinsic artistic qualities and *maestà scenica*; others are primarily interested in the symbolic or iconic qualities of city views, analyzing the messages embedded in the display of mythological and allegorical imagery and often interpreting these urban images as icons of city grandeur or the well-governed community; still others focus on the circumstances surrounding the production of city views and the manner in which these images were published, otherwise reproduced, and put on display. In general, however, art-historical study of city views regards these images as mirrors or portraits of the city being depicted. Few scholars have addressed the issue of these images as empirical and visual constructions, as representations of an idealized city, or even as futuristic projections of the city itself. Our project examines these issues, as well as the ways in which the original functions of these images helped to determine their form.

Having assembled a collection of about two thousand views of cities in both Spain and Latin America, we have organized these images according to the purposes they were originally intended to serve. Consequently, in addition to employing the formal typologies applied to city views (profile view, birds'-eye view, ichnographic view, and the like), we have classified them as "secret" views, a category that pertains to those images executed for some military or strategic purpose; "administrative" views, which encompass those intended for a specific governmental or judicial use; and "public" views, a broad category that embraces both painted and printed views intended for public display. Among the public views, those that were printed are by far the most numerous. These have been organized genealogically, according to *stemmae*, in an attempt to determine not only their prototypes but the ways in which these images were transformed, modified, or otherwise altered across time. In the case of Spain, these images—

mostly the work of visitors from Italy and northern Europe—were intended to make Spanish cities intelligible to foreign audiences. In the case of images of the New World, they were also meant to convey the exotic qualities of American cities rather than simply to provide an accurate or otherwise up-to-date portrait of America's urban reality.

In Spain, views that accurately portrayed the physical features of cities were relatively few. Primarily the work of foreign artists, these views emphasized the city as an architectural entity and generally were constructed according to criteria derived from idealized urban archetypes. In contrast, Spanish artists and draftsmen were more interested in constructing urban images in which communal sentiments related to the concept of *civitas* took precedence over description of their *urbes*, a distinction that can be traced back to Thucydides, and one intended to foster local identity as their primary aim. Such views were overwhelmingly the work of local rather than itinerant artists and frequently accorded special emphasis to famous local landmarks or meaningful incidents in the city's past. In Spanish America, city views acquired additional meanings and forms, depending in part on who executed them and for what purpose. In the sixteenth century, European perspectival and cartographic traditions that emphasized almost purely visual or abstract notions of measured "space" often merged with indigenous conceptions of "place"; the result was a peculiar hybrid incorporating elements of both cultures, although city views that incorporate truly native notational forms are difficult to trace. Over time, the indigenous elements contained in these images receded, but local artists in both Mexico and Peru, even more than their Spanish counterparts, mainly executed views emphasizing the communal aspects of their cities: "place" over "space" in an attempt to promote a new sense of local or creole identity. (This project is also supported by the Getty Grant Program and the National Endowment for the Humanities.)

Fernando Marías
Universidad Autónoma de Madrid
Samuel H. Kress Senior Fellow, 1994–1995

Richard L. Kagan
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The Renaissance Voyage: La sfera

La sfera (the sphere), a cosmological poem comprised of four books, each containing thirty-six stanzas in ottave rime, proliferated in fifteenth-century manuscripts. Over 150 known manuscripts survive, and eighteen editions were published between 1482 and 1543. P. Giovanni Maria Tolosani da Colle Domenicano added two books to the 1514 editions, proof of *La sfera's* continuing vitality in the early sixteenth century. Then it was not reprinted until 1859, 1863, and 1865.

The work is ascribed to Florentine Goro Dati or to his brother Leonardo, with a *terminus ante quem* of 1435, the year of Goro's death, although neither author nor date is secure. Enhanced by marginal illustrations, *La sfera* fuses astronomical, meteorological, and geographical phenomena with praises of the Lord. At the same time, it serves as a primer of technical data on nautical instruments and the ports and inland sites along the south and east coasts of the Mediterranean from the straits of Gibraltar to Tana on the Sea of Azov, extending from west Morocco to the Nile.

Combining features of an astrological manual and a portolan chart, *La sfera* belongs to a rare genre. Its origins are debatable, regarding the possible but improbable derivation from navigators' guides or from modifications of ancient pilot books adjusted for crusader use. The sharply drawn coastlines recall Cristoforo Buondelmonti's *Liber Insularum Archipelago* (1420), and Benedetto Bordone's woodcuts in his book on the islands of the Venetian lagoon (1528). *La sfera* has also been linked to such quattrocento metric geographies as Francesco Berlinghieri's versification of Ptolemy's *Geography* (1480) and Bartolommeo dalli Sonetti's island book (1485). An awesome literary patrimony includes medieval specula and the writings of Petrarch, Boccaccio, and Dante.

My interest in this manuscript was generated by the depiction of towns and chorographic elements in Books 3 and 4. Eleven maps usually follow citations in the text giving coastal indications, vignettes of cities, centers of trade, and sites renowned through Biblical lore and Christian pilgrimages. Probably written about 1420, *La sfera* is contemporary with the Ptolemaic revival, the dissemination of humanistic texts, and the discoveries of conventions and boundaries of a pre-Albertian world. Rather than the physical portrait of important cities and trade routes, elucidating European and Arab crosscurrents in the Renaissance, a study of manuscripts of *La sfera* revealed a compendium of cities and places that were drawn more or less according to preset formulae, based on extant models, but too crude and distorted for actual use. Geography intermingles with history, whereas orientation and the placement of cities bear little reference to reality. Many areas herein depicted were, prior to the Crusades, emblematic of Muslim rule. In fact, towns and castles in these drawings often display distinctive Islamic characteristics.

Queries concerning the mode of representation in different manuscripts, the



Dati, *La sfera*, mid-fifteenth century, Book 4, verses 10–15; vignettes of cities and sites of Christian pilgrimage along the Mediterranean coast, fols. 118v–119r (Vat. Urb. Lat. 1754). Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana

particular places represented, the intended audiences for the luxurious and the ordinary volumes, yielded conflicting evidence. Emphasis on such sites as Noah's Ark, the Tower of Babel, Saint Catherine's Monastery, and Troy in flames provides spiritual and historical exempla of human sin, pride, and redemption. But, for all the tome's pious evocations, there are signs of speculative reasoning in Dati's concern with perfect forms and with the measure and order of nature. *La sfera* may well be a presentation volume and a didactic poem, a compendium of pseudoscientific knowledge and a navigation chart, a key to wealth and an instrument of power. Despite its practical shortcomings, the poem may have served as a guide for travel and trade and exploration, its verses acting as an aid to memorization.

Initially, the question of authorship was not a primary consideration of this study. It now seems, however, that the very content of the manuscript is tied to Goro rather than to his learned brother Leonardo, general of the Dominican order and a Biblical scholar. Despite the poem's moral and religious tone, it is more likely that Goro, prominent merchant, frequent consul of the Silk Guild, and a political official in the Florentine government, was indeed the author. Further support for this view is found in the context of his quasi-autobiographical *Libro segreto*, an account of over four decades of business voyages, and the *Istoria di Firenze 1380–1406* (both works employing similar linguistic conceits as well as attention to physical phenomena).

While depicting the commercial cities within the wide orbit of Florence, the provenance of the manuscript, *La sfera* renders homage to an expanding modern urban civilization. Thus, Greco-Roman ideas of *civitas* fuse with Biblical and Christian symbols in this hypothetical celebration of Mediterranean coastal cities and pilgrimage sites. *La sfera* may be viewed as a popular tract of astronomy and geography, demonstrating the transition from the medieval empirical tradition to the classical revival manifest in fifteenth-century manuscripts at the dawn of a new age.

Boston University

Ailsa Mellon Bruce Visiting Senior Fellow, winter 1995

On Recent American So-Called Postmodernist Art

There is, to my knowledge, no study devoted to this topic. There are only many references to particular artists and articles in catalogues, some of them very instructive. The primary difficulty in dealing with this subject is choosing the proper examples. One must have an idea of what postmodernism as a cultural (and civilizational) breakthrough of our times means. My general assumption is that postmodernism in the fine arts is a symptom of the consumerist-permissive society founded on what Neil Postman aptly named technopoly. That is why I chose as possibly seminal examples the following artists: Jeff Koons, Mark Kostabi, David Salle, Julian Schnabel, Haim Steinbach, Erich Fischl, Cindy Sherman, Sherrie Levine, Richard Prince, Barbara Kruger, Joel Otterson, and Mark Bidlo.

Research led me to differentiate between these artists. I found Koons, Kostabi, Salle, and Steinbach most typical of the new cultural tendency. Deliberately parasitic and eclectic, they draw on the mass culture, display its shibboleths, and treat art cynically as sheer commodity. Bidlo adds to it a frivolous practice of "adopting" old and recent masterpieces, signing them ostentatiously with his name. Levine reproduces the photographs of the best masters in this domain. Another group comprises Schnabel, Fischl, and Sherman (and also some works by Prince, whom I consider to be commercially oriented). Their work is nurtured by the ubiquitous



Haim Steinbach, *ultra red #2*, 1986,
Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum,
New York, Gift of Barbara and
Eugene Schwartz, 1988.
Photograph: David Lubarsky;
Sonnabend Gallery, New York

mythology that dominates the mass culture and is fostered by the media. No distance from this mythology is evident, but neither do they embrace it as a positive phenomenon, which strikes one immediately in the case of Koons or Kostabi. Sherman and sometimes Fischl are rather melancholic witnesses of a civilization that is deprived of any firm sense of experience, bedazzled as it is by the flux of wares and fashions. Kruger deserves a separate place in this family of artists—she portrays the same reality, uses the same iconography, but is clearly critical. Her work uncovers the superficiality hidden quite often behind the glamour.

There are obvious parallels in other domains of artistic production which prove that the postmodern wave prevails. Most certainly it is evidenced to the extreme by film and to some extent also architecture. There are as well spectacular parallels in European practice either under the influence of the United States or out of native impulses. Because the cultural turn comprises also philosophy and science, it is a serious challenge to our reflection. I think that one should unearth all possible dangers which this—alas prevailing at the moment—civilizational and cultural trend brings with it.

Polish Academy of Sciences and Letters, Institute of Art
Ailsa Mellon Bruce Visiting Senior Fellow, spring 1995

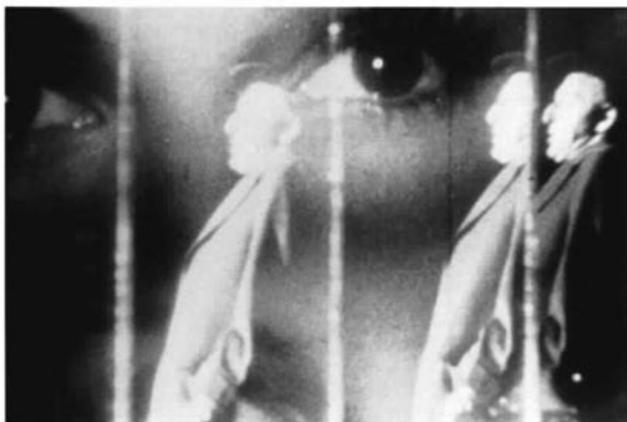
Film Noir: *Studies in the History of an Idea*

During my fellowship year I completed two chapters of what will become a lengthy book about the American *film noir*. A great deal of critical discussion has already been devoted to this type of film, but nobody has been able to produce an adequate definition of the term, and nobody is sure whether it refers to a genre, a style, a cycle, a mood, or simply a "phenomenon." Whatever *noir* "is," the standard histories say that it originated in Hollywood, emerging out of a synthesis of American hard-boiled fiction and German expressionism. *Noir* is also associated with certain visual and narrative traits, including low-key photography, off-screen narration, pop-Freudian characterizations, and preoccupation with *femmes fatales*. Some writers localize these traits in the period between 1941 and 1958; others say that *noir* began much earlier and never went away. The most influential (but by no means complete) reference to the subject begins in 1927 and ends in the present, listing over five hundred films of various stylistic and generic attributes.

Unfortunately, many generalizations in the critical literature are open to question. If *noir* is Germanic-American, why does it have a French name? And if it began in 1941 or earlier, why did it not enjoy widespread recognition until after 1960? A plausible case could indeed be made that *film noir* is entirely a creation of postmodern culture—a belated notion of Hollywood that was popularized by French *cinéastes*, appropriated by academics and filmmakers, and then repackaged for TV. My argument does not go that far, but I do claim that if we want to understand the term, or to make sense of genres or art-historical categories in general, we need to understand that *film noir* belongs to the history of ideas as much as to the history of cinema. In other words, it has less to do with a group of artifacts than with a discourse—a loose, evolving system of arguments and readings, helping to shape commercial strategies and aesthetic ideologies.

My study begins by showing how the French "invented" American *film noir* in the period between 1946 and 1959, under the influence of local conditions that predisposed them to view Hollywood in certain ways. First of all, they possessed a sophisticated film culture in which movies were treated as art rather than as commercial entertainment. Equally important, the decade after the war was characterized by a resurgence of Americanism among some directors and critics, who wanted to refashion the French art cinema along the presumably more "authentic" lines of Hollywood genre movies. Out of this movement, the *nouvelle vague* emerged; and for the directors involved, the so-called American *film noir*—which was visibly indebted to European modernism—became the most important category in French criticism.

From the beginning, the idea of *noir* was useful to the French because it evoked a golden age of their own film culture. As the original commentators



Orson Welles, *The Lady from Shanghai*, Columbia Pictures, 1948. From *The Magic World of Orson Welles*, author copyright, 1988

were quick to observe, certain postwar Hollywood movies resembled the French Popular Front cinema of the 1930s—a group of shadowy melodramas (often called *films noirs* by the French themselves) set in an urban criminal milieu. But postwar critical discussions of American *noir* were even more strongly inflected by the major trends in Left Bank intellectual life. Sartrean existentialism was of course the leading philosophy of the period; what needs to be emphasized is that existentialism was intertwined with a residual surrealism, which was crucial for the reception of any art object described as *noir*. Not surprisingly, most of the early discussion of American *film noir* took place in surrealist film journals, and the most influential book ever written on the topic, Raymond Borde and Etienne Chaumeton's *Panorama du film noir américain* (1955), was profoundly surrealist in its ideological aims.

After discussing the slightly different uses of the idea of *film noir* among French critics in the late 1940s and 1950s, my book examines how the idea acquired new meanings after it crossed the Atlantic and entered the English language. I argue that a complete history of *noir* in America needs to consider New York film culture in the 1950s; the Vietnam War (a structuring absence in Paul Schrader's influential 1972 essay, "Notes on Film Noir"); the rise of academic film theory; the vast changes in the economics and censorship of Hollywood since World War II; and the increasing dissolution of boundaries between high, vernacular, and commercial art. In these and later chapters, I hope to demonstrate a paradox: *film noir* is both an important cinematic legacy and an idea we have projected onto the past.

Indiana University
Ailsa Mellon Bruce Senior Fellow, 1994–1995

JOHN M. D. POHL

The Pre-Columbian Lintel Paintings of Mitla, Oaxaca, Mexico

The ruins of Mitla provide a remarkably intact architectural environment for four wall paintings that are unparalleled in the extent of their narrative content for the last Postclassic epoch of ancient Mexico. We also have an extraordinarily detailed account by the colonial Dominican friar Francisco de Burgoa of ancient religious practices that were performed within the palace walls on which the paintings are displayed. Despite this unique historical and architectural setting, however, art historians and archaeologists have continued to puzzle over the meaning of the Mitla paintings. The pioneering nineteenth-century German scholar Eduard Seler proposed that they illuminate myths relating to the Aztec gods of Central Mexico, and this interpretation has prevailed.

In contrast to Seler, I investigated Mitla from the archaeological perspective of the Zapotec and Mixtec people who actually built the palaces. I have discovered that the wall paintings are not only stylistically but also thematically related to the Mixtec codices, pictorial manuscripts that document heroic sagas and over twenty-five generations of ancient Oaxacan ruling families. Despite their partial destruction due to natural weathering, I have defined four principal themes in the paintings: the Central Mexican creation saga of the Toltec-Chichimecs, the Mixtec creation story of Apoala, the founding of Mitla by oracular priests, and the founding of the Zapotec capital of Zaachila by the divine ancestors at Monte Albán.

The portrayal of these cosmogonies on the Mitla panels is significant because they reflect ethnicity. They depict the origin of three distinct social groups that dominated Oaxaca in the Postclassic period between A.D. 1000 and 1521. Three of the stories appear in the Mixtec codices. The fourth can be identified through the correlation of place signs in the codices with the Zapotec names for archaeological sites in the Mitla community.

As an archaeologist I employ an interdisciplinary approach that incorporates studies of the codices, archaeological survey, and interviews with Mixtec and Zapotec Indian people to reconstruct the past. I map ancient settlement patterns using aerial photographs and use ceramics for relative dating. These data together with a rich folklore tradition have enabled me to correlate many archaeological sites with place signs for kingdoms listed in the codices.

Mitla, however, presented a different problem. We know from sixteenth century sources that the Mitla courts provided a theatrical setting for poetic recitations of the creation stories during palace feasts and the participants literally became part of the narratives portrayed in the paintings. The princes wore garments painted with the same pictographs and ate and drank from polychrome pottery lavishly decorated with these images as well. Consequently, I found myself asking how the paintings worked within an architectural setting to convey meaning beyond the intrinsic value of historical content. In so doing, I departed from

my archaeological methodology that explains behavior through a study of the distribution of artifacts and sought new perspectives from the field of art history.

My project at the Center for Advanced Study was divided into two parts. The first was a study of the relevant scholarship on narrative painting and mural programs by leading specialists including works by George Kubler, Irene Winter, Richard Brilliant, Eve Boorsook, Marilyn Aronberg Lavin, Hayden White, and Joanna Woods-Marsden to name a few. I was looking for analytical techniques for determining the ways allegorical or didactic messages have been conveyed through the placement of paintings within comparable architectural settings. It was the task of artists in many societies like the Mixtec and Zapotec, to maximize the use of sacred space by creating communicative environments that lent symbolic meaning and ambience to specific forms of behavior. By examining the ways in which other societies orchestrated visual information, I was able to evaluate how the Mitla murals could have served as a tableau for religious practices and reinforced the doctrine of oracular judges and priests.

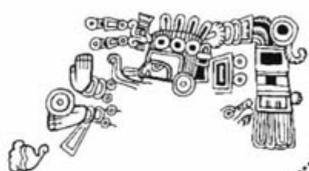
The second part of the project was an iconographic study of the murals with respect to ethnicity, history, and religion in ancient Oaxaca. I explored the relationship of the creation themes in the paintings to the cult of the dead. Zapotec and Mixtec kings claimed descent from at least three different ethnic groups of ancestors who were miraculously created from heavens, trees, and caves. The different creation legends also bound aristocratic segments of ancient Oaxacan society together ethnically, in ways that superseded local dialectical and cultural differences.

Nevertheless, kings were often embroiled in wars of succession that dissipated national cohesion. In the interests of unity, they submitted to the authority of oracular priests who were empowered not only to administer a historical religion, but also to arbitrate political disputes. Oracular power was founded on the physical control of the royal dead who were used as reliquary symbols of genealogical reckoning important to arguing claims of descent and control of the land. The Spaniards compared the oracular priest of Mitla to a pope and referred to the palaces as a Vatican of the Zapotec people. Zapotecs and Mixtecs continue to call Mitla "the center of the world."

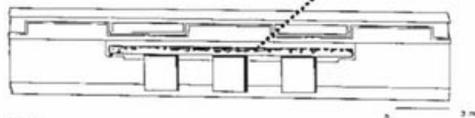
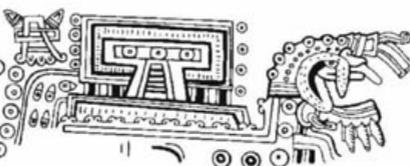
At the time of European contact, Mexico was dominated by the Aztec empire, a society that historians traditionally use as a model for understanding ancient Mexican social organization. Oaxaca, on the other hand, was controlled by numerous small kingdoms whose leaders bound themselves into factional alliances comparable to those of ancient Greek or Italian Renaissance cities; and these states defined forms of social cohesion through oracular shrines in ways that have received little attention. The fellowship was particularly valuable to me for the opportunity to meet with other art historians from many diverse areas. I was able to discuss in detail the works I was studying and evaluate the utility of other approaches to my own research.

Fowler Museum of Cultural History, University of California, Los Angeles
Paul Mellon Visiting Senior Fellow, summer 1994

Priest 7 Flower

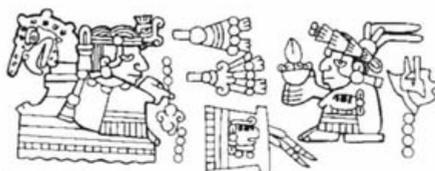


Hill of the Turkey



Mitla
North Wall
Church Group

Lord 4 Wind



Priest 7 Flower
Hill of the Turkey

Codex Bodley 31 V

Mixtec-Zapotec civilization, A.D. 1500; narrative scenes (Priest 7 Flower and Hill of the Turkey) from surviving lintel painting fragments from the north wall Church Group at Mitla compared with cognate scenes (Priest 7 Flower–Hill of the Turkey and Lord 4 Wind) appearing in the Mixtec codices (Codex Bodley 31v, Mitla, Oaxaca, Mexico). Author drawing



Aljafería Palace, Zaragoza, Spain, northern salon and portico, second half of eleventh century.
Photograph: Pablo Contrisciani

Palace Architecture and Ornament in the "Courtly" Discourse of the Mulūk al-Tawā'if: Metaphor and Utopia

Two central problems are addressed in this study. One is the applicability of literature and literary theory to the study of visual phenomena; the second is the much-debated issue of whether or not (and if so, to what degree) meaning or significance is to be accorded to nonfigurative ornament in Islamic art. My conclusions include a positive answer to the first query, as well as an affirmation of the signifying power of ornament. Both of these affirmative statements, however, must be qualified: neither a demonstrable relationship between visual and literary meaning systems nor a definite signification for ornamental motifs is possible without a thorough understanding of the culture that produced the literary- and visual-meaning systems and the ornament under study. In other words, to posit such relationships, we must reconstruct the context of use.

The reconstruction, then, of a context of use for the Aljafería—the eleventh-century palace built by the Banu Hud, kings of the *taifa* state of Zaragoza—is the central issue of the dissertation. The Aljafería has traditionally been studied almost exclusively in relation to its supposed predecessor, the Umawi caliphal city-palace, Madīnat al-Zahrā', built during the latter third of the tenth century A.D. The failure of the *taifa* palace to conform precisely to the canons of caliphal architectural and ornamental aesthetic has been viewed as aberrant by most recent scholarship. It is often interpreted as a "degenerate" (and failed) attempt on the part of *taifa* patrons and artisans to emulate the caliphal aesthetic.

Madīnat al-Zahrā' and Cordoba have been deemed by modern scholars (aided by medieval Islamic historians loyal to the idea of empire and a centralized state) as the zenith of the architectural history of al-Andalus, all later architectures and styles being perforce derived from them. Other cultural manifestations—particularly the poetic genre referred to as "Ubi Sunt"—have also been pulled into the service of this teleology: although "Ubi Sunt" constitutes a poetic *topos* present in Arabic literature since its earliest moment, *taifa* "Ubi Sunt" compositions are interpreted not as exercises in a canonic literary genre, but as genuine laments for "Cordoba the Lost."

This subjective approach to the study of *taifa* art and literature stems from a failure to consider *taifa* court culture on its own terms. A reconstruction of a context of use for the Aljafería reveals a culture motivated by much more complex impulses than a simple desire to recapture the lost grandeur of Umawi Cordoba. *Taifa* court culture was, first and foremost, emulative of that of ninth-century Baghdad. Court and panegyric literature, particularly of the latter half of the eleventh century, is closely related to the flourishing of genres—*khamriyya*, or "wine song," *ghazal*, or "love lyric," and *wasf*, or "description"—and styles, particularly the highly metaphorical *badi'*, or "modern" style—at the 'Abbasi courts

of Baghdad during the latter eighth and ninth centuries A.D. The *taifa* kingly ideal is created out of an isolation, appropriation, and officialization of the libertinous, licentious, excessive, and obsessive “antihero” of the “wine song”: the traditional soldier-king is replaced, at *taifa* courts, by a pliant lover, effete connoisseur of beauty, wine, and poetry, host and beloved of the royal *soirée* known as the *majlis*.

The *majlis*—at which a handful of the king’s most intimate companions (*nadim*, *nudama*) were entertained—is also a *topos* derived from ‘Abbasi “courtly” culture. It represents both the primary subject matter of, and forum for, court literature during the latter decades of the eleventh century. The “*majlis* anecdote”—a combination of introductory and concluding paragraphs rendered in rhymed prose, and a central poetic piece, generally of panegyric intent and composed in the *badi’* style—both records and dictates the events, tone, and ritual of these gatherings. Indeed, to judge from *taifa* court literature, the king spent *all* of his time elegantly inebriated amid beautiful companions, beautiful poetry, beautiful servants, and beautiful surroundings.

It is my argument that the Aljafería was constructed specifically as a setting for the royal *majlis*, as a backdrop for the licentious antics of king, companions, and servants. Furthermore, I argue that the precious salons, patios, and mosque of the Hudi palace, as well as its curious ornament, were intended exclusively for the consumption of this extremely reduced public. Having identified the audience for which the monument was intended, as well as its tastes, priorities, and concerns, the idiosyncrasies of the Aljafería’s plan and ornament suggest not confused imitation of misunderstood codes, but the conscious—or *self*-conscious—creation of new codes. Just as *badi’* was recognized and adopted for its metaphorical inscrutability, because of the challenge it posed to discerning intellects, so was the ornamental language of the Aljafería coded metaphorically: the perfect world constructed by the king for his chosen companions was only manifested before those astute enough to decode its cryptic allusions to eternity, perfection, and paradise.

[University of Pennsylvania]
Andrew W. Mellon Fellow, 1993–1995

DANIEL SCHÁVELZON

*The Preservation of Artistic and Archaeological Heritage in South America
(1750–1990)*

The discovery of America in the sixteenth century brought about the encounter of very dissimilar cultures. For centuries after, the American past was, from the European perspective, significant only as a repository of exotic objects. Many of these objects enriched European collections. Others were destroyed either because of their intrinsic value as silver or gold, or because of their forbidden significance in prevailing religious ideas. Nevertheless, since these earliest times there were people who did their best to preserve what they could of these cultures. The first policies concerning preservation and museology began to be discussed in the eighteenth century in the region. But it was only in the early nineteenth century, with the independence of Latin American countries, that a modern conception of preservation of the historical, artistic, and archaeological heritage could finally be established.

This research reviews the backgrounds and the manner in which such policies were achieved and their present state in Peru, Ecuador, Argentina, Chile, and Bolivia. These different countries, when examined in-depth, show some similar trends in regard to their artistic patrimony. The social and political instability and the economic changes have made it difficult for cultural institutions to survive, thus affecting museums, archaeological restorations, and the preservation of historical sites.

The ideas that affected the forming of artistic and archaeological collections, particularly by the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, as well as the illegal trafficking of such works of art in the international market, have been revised. The relationships among researchers, collectors, and museologists and the art market and museums that used to buy these objects have been surveyed as well. In this history, I have tried to point out the most important trends in preservationist thinking with the belief that many of them, frustrated or not, somehow contributed to the history of preservation worldwide, establishing valid alternatives for countries with little or no economic resources. Now, at the end of the century, museums of archaeological sites are facing the problem of mass tourism. Thus far, no solutions have been found for basic problems such as avoiding archaeological looting, thefts from museums, and the procurement of at least the minimum budgets necessary for cultural institutions. On their side, ethnic communities have begun to take a stand on the issue of their artistic and cultural heritage. This means a great challenge for the Latin America of the twenty-first century.

It is interesting to observe that each country in the region has made efforts to protect different things: some countries have concentrated on their prehispanic art, others on their colonial production, religious architecture, historic documents,



Chimu Gold Cup, Lambayeque Valley, Peru, c. A.D. 1000–1300. Saint Louis Art Museum, Morton D. May Collection

or archaeological sites. Some countries have gathered important collections of nineteenth-century works of art while in others these are almost inexistent. Such trends reflect links between preservation and concepts of national identity. Understanding these relationships is crucial to creating a more balanced definition of the cultural heritage that is to be protected. The last level of analysis constitutes a comparative survey of recent preservationist policies, current legislation, and the actions of the responsible institutions and museums. Observations of the failures, achievements, and experiences could then yield, in a not-too-distant future, new ways to improve what is presently being done.

Centro de Arqueología Urbana, Instituto de Arte Americano e Investigaciones Estéticas "Mario J. Buschiazzo," Universidad de Buenos Aires

Inter-American Development Bank and Ailsa Mellon Bruce Visiting Senior Research Fellow, fall 1994, spring 1995

KATHRYN A. SMITH

Canonizing the Apocryphal: London, British Library Egerton MS. 2781 and Its Visual, Devotional, and Social Contexts

During my year in residence I wrote most of my dissertation, which constitutes the first in-depth study of an important but little-known illuminated devotional compendium made c. 1335–1340 for a Lancashire gentry family. At core a book of hours, the standard contents of Egerton 2781 are enriched by themes from literature and even entire literary works that represented the “reading matter” most popular among the laity in fourteenth-century England. These include cosmological and Old Testament subjects, the life and miracles of the Virgin, Latin and Anglo-French prayers and poems, apocryphal Infancy miracles of Christ, excerpts from ancient history, and a complete Anglo-French devotional work on the Passion, all profusely illuminated, all carefully organized to guide the book owner through the main events and themes in Christian history. Egerton 2781 was produced in a London “shop” context by a team of contemporary scribes and artists. It was commissioned by Isabel de Byron, wife of Robert de Neville, to commemorate her family’s inheritance of the lucrative Neville of Hornby estates.

Thus Egerton 2781, or the Neville of Hornby Hours, unites two important developments in later medieval lay piety: first, the growing popularity of the illustrated book of hours, the quintessential prayerbook for personal use; and second, the increase in lay literacy, and the related desire for personalized collections of devotional reading material. Among the many discoveries to emerge from the considerable scholarship on medieval literacy is recognition that devotional books served a crucial function as pedagogical tools. Indeed, by the fourteenth century, the book of hours was called in Middle English the “prymer,” the first prayerbook, or first reading book.

Further, since Saint Jerome and throughout the Middle Ages, Christian writers considered the primary religious and literate education of children—in the case of daughters, their *only* education—to be the responsibility of their mothers. My analysis of the pictorial strategies employed in the illumination of the Neville of Hornby Hours indicates that pedagogical function was implicit in the book’s very design, at the wishes of its patron, Isabel de Byron herself, so that she could use the book to teach a young female family member how to pray, how to read, and therefore, what to believe. These strategies include the frequent insertion of pictorial surrogates for the owners in the margins, initials, and miniatures; the manipulation of image size and content in relation to text; the tailoring of specific types of devotional material for individual family members; and the self-conscious use of a variety of pictorial styles. Further, these strategies are implemented in ways that constitute significant innovations in the layout and illustration of devotional texts in Gothic illumination. They grant the reader a more intimate, reciprocal relationship with the object of devotion, and permit active participation in

sacred events rather than mere observation.

For instance, the artist and scribe who collaborated as directors of the project aligned key words in the Anglo-French Passion text with important elements within the historiated initials, thereby embedding the cognitive act of identifying or condemning Christ or witnessing His Ascension within the act of reading the text and looking at the illustrations. The bookowner's point of view thus is assimilated with that of such figures as Judas or the Virgin, making the reader complicit in the Arrest and Condemnation of Christ and eyewitness to the Crucifixion, Resurrection, and post-Resurrection miracles. The Latin hours of the Virgin are illustrated with an unusual program of Apocryphal Infancy miracles, such as the episode at Sext of the Virgin (fol. 88v), in which the seven-year-old Christ transforms his Jewish playmates into pigs. Isabel de Byron's daughter or granddaughter is depicted in the outer margin, an image unusual not only for its portrayal of the reader *reacting* to the scene in the initial rather than merely praying, but also for its depiction of a child as an independent reader and observer, a rarity in medieval art. The Infancy miracles clearly were seen to have special appeal to a child, and to be effective memory cues for the Neville daughter meant to learn her Hours, one of the fundamental devotional texts mastered earliest in the life of the devout Christian.

The pictorial innovations of the Neville of Hornby Hours have significant implications for the study of what may be called medieval subjectivity. That is, they provide evidence about the expectations which medieval viewers of different ages and genders brought to works of art, and about the role of images in structuring their experience of texts in "affective" devotional practice. The dissertation will include codicological and genealogical appendices as well as transcriptions of the manuscript's unusual textual contents.

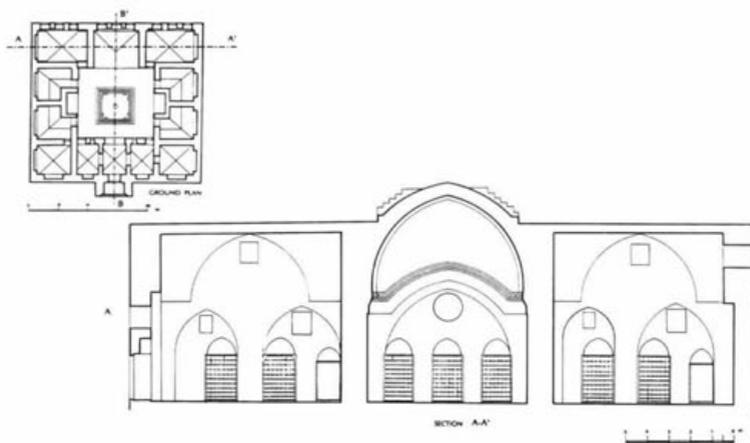
As part of the curatorial component of my fellowship, I had the opportunity to explore issues of great interest to me: portraiture and landscape. I assisted H. Diane Russell, curator of old master prints, in the selection of portrait books and medals for an upcoming exhibition of sixteenth-century portraiture. This work has stimulated my thinking about the issues of "likeness," convention, and the portrait as private or public document in medieval art. I also gave a public lecture, "Dada and Surrealist Landscapes," which addressed works in the National Gallery's permanent collection by Arp, Magritte, Tanguy, Miró, and Ernst, a starting point for reconsideration of the meaning and function of the calendar landscape in the medieval manuscript.

[New York University, Institute of Fine Arts]
Mary Davis Fellow, 1993–1995

The Medieval Islamic Hospital: Institutional and Architectural History

The institutional and architectural history of the medieval Islamic hospital, from the ninth to the end of the fourteenth century, was the subject of my work. I approached the project initially with trepidation, thinking that its breadth and multidimensionality would lead me far from the trodden paths of art-historical research. Yet a year of immersion in the project and the atmosphere at the Center proved conducive to research and writing, providing a useful balance between reclusive study and intellectual and social interaction. The accessibility and reliability of the library and other services allowed me to focus for extended periods on my topic, and the opportunity to interact with other scholars in adjacent or far removed areas of research contributed new perspectives to my project.

Methodologically, my project has taken shape along a number of themes that deal with the origins and development of the Islamic hospital, its patronage, the semiotic dimensions of its spaces, and its interpenetration with orthodox belief. Central to these themes is my contention that the long epoch represented by this project consists in fact of two distinct periods separated by a significant disjuncture. The first period, from which no hospitals have survived, is dominated by Abbasid patronage in Baghdad and is characterized by links with the Sasanian hospital of Jundishapur. The second period, dating from 1150 to 1400, from which about a dozen hospitals have survived, is marked by the spread of the hospital to the various cities of Syria, Anatolia, and Egypt and by a broader system of patronage that involved princes, women of the court, and even members of the administration.



Bimaristan (hospital) al-Qaymari, Damascus, 1256. Author drawing

In exploring the disjuncture, it became clear that the alleged decline in Islamic medicine after the twelfth century must be rejected or considerably nuanced, in view of the unprecedented expansion of the hospital thereafter and the increasing interest of patrons in illustrated medical and pharmaceutical treatises. The revival of the hospital, we find, was part of an "urban policy" intended to introduce the requisite emblems of civilization to rehabilitated cities while also fulfilling the Islamic obligation toward the sick and the indigent. This policy had a social dimension, contained within the institutional character of hospitals, and a symbolic one, displayed by structures whose quality of construction and decoration often exceeded those of religious institutions.

Were these hospitals, then, built as emblems of authority or as sites of charity; were they intended for incarceration or treatment? There is little question that hospitals or colleges (*madrasas*) were intended to inculcate state authority among the population, a requirement that seems to be reflected in their formal borrowings from contemporary palace architecture. But with the exception of a few anecdotes that refer to the use of hospitals as short-term prisons, there is no evidence that they played any role in a "great confinement," as Michel Foucault has proposed for eighteenth-century Europe.

Rather, it seems that medieval Islamic hospitals remained true to their original intent as institutions for the care and treatment of the sick and the insane, standing as such in direct continuity with the humoral medicine of Galen. I was led, therefore, to consider whether the cruciform plans of these hospitals may have embodied a therapeutic space, whose very regularity was intended to provide an architectural corrective to the unbalanced humors of the ill. I continue to investigate this particular homology, which seems to be at the heart of a symbolic understanding of the medieval Islamic hospital.

Presiding above the political and cosmological issues was of course God's ultimate authority, which far surpassed that of science or medicine. This duality between rationality and belief was the subject of considerable cultural negotiation, as evidenced by numerous contemporary anecdotes and several monumental inscriptions. Did these disparities become more apparent in the latter Middle Ages, when physicians and hospitals could no longer rely on the patronage and protection of the royal court but had to carve for themselves a space within the increasing orthodoxy of the time?

The study of medieval Islamic hospitals fills a gap in the history of this institution, introducing some of its earliest preserved monuments and exploring its social and medical role in the Islamic world. I have been told that this project helps to humanize the harsh image often attributed to Islamic culture. I hope it does that and more, by tracing the common threads of urban policy, religious philanthropy, and medical culture that unite Islam and the medieval West.

University of Michigan, Ann Arbor
Ailsa Mellon Bruce Senior Fellow, 1994-1995



Bimaristan (hospital) Arghun al-Kamili, Aleppo, middle courtyard as seen from the oculus, 1354.
Author photograph



Entrance to the tomb at Yi'nan, Beizhai Village, Yi'nan County, Shandong Province, late second century A.D. Photograph: Yi'nan Guhuaxiang Shimu Fajue Baogao (excavation report on an ancient carved stone tomb at Yi'nan)

Cosmology, Ritual, and the Creation of Sacred Space in the Yi'nan Tomb

The subject of my research is a stone mausoleum comprised of eight chambers which was excavated in 1954 at Beizhai village, Yi'nan county in southeast Shandong Province, northeast China. Relief carvings cover the entrance, walls, pillars, and ceilings of the front, central, and rear chambers. The subject matter is diverse, including representations of ritual and homage, chariot processions, legendary sages and moral exemplars, exorcism, and immortal lands. In this dissertation the decorative program is read from the viewpoint of the tomb's magical efficacy for the deceased. My argument proceeds from the assumption that the monument should be viewed as an organic whole and the imagery therefore should not be interpreted apart from the tomb's structural components, directional orientation, and layout. Through the interplay of imagery, architecture, and space, the tomb is transformed into a kind of mandala allowing for the journey of the souls of the deceased to the sacred center, where they can dwell in peace, protected, provided for, and entertained.

My interest in the religious function of relief carvings in tombs is, in part, a response to recent scholarship which has argued for the rhetorical function of Shandong-area Han mortuary architecture. Portrayed as public monuments, shrines and tombs have been seen as playing an important role in enhancing the upright Confucian reputation of the clan. The interpretation identifies Shandong regional culture with Confucian ideology of the Lu region. This school is characterized as a secular political philosophy with an emphasis on ritual, hierarchy, and leadership through moral example. In the first chapter of my dissertation, it is argued that the Qi and Chu were also important cultural traditions in the region, particularly in southeast Shandong. Both Qi and Chu were known for their religious traditions of exorcism, shamanism, and deity worship. The Yi'nan tomb is located at the geographic intersection of the area that once constituted the Qi, Lu, and Chu states. In the tomb, Confucian imagery is intermixed with shamanistic and supernatural imagery in a kind of synthesis of Qi, Lu, and Chu cultures.

Basic questions regarding the date and the occupant of the Yi'nan tomb are addressed. Over the past forty years, dates ranging from the second half of the second century (last Eastern Han) to the third and fourth centuries A.D. (Three Kingdoms-Western Jin) have been assigned to the tomb. This problem is reexamined in the second chapter in light of recent excavations of Han tombs, dating the Yi'nan tomb to within a period of twenty years, from the 170s to the 180s. A comparative study of the Yi'nan tomb's structure, including size, layout, construction materials, and methods, with dated tombs of Han and post-Han tombs, plays an important role in establishing its date. Iconographic and formal analyses of dated wall reliefs are considered, and historical factors, such as the breakdown of central authority by the end of the 180s, support my argument.

The imagery in the partitioned rear chamber indicates that the Yi'nan tomb was built for a male and female. Chapter three concerns the possible status of the male occupant. Since no identifying inscription has been discovered, archaeological evidence is used to evaluate this problem. A typology of seventeen tombs with inscriptions or other literary or material evidence indicating the occupant's status or identity is assembled. This group is then used as a benchmark against which the likely status of the occupant of the Yi'nan tomb is assessed. Taking into account the local social and political history in southeast Shandong Province during the 170s and 180s, I sketch a profile of the deceased as a member of the provincial elite and outline his ideological, religious, and political concerns. A sharp distinction is often made among the secular political concerns of the Confucian literati class and the religious beliefs and superstitions of the general population. In fact, there was a continuous interpenetration among elite and popular cultures. As a member of the provincial elite, in what was known as Langya principality in Xuzhou Province in the 170s and 180s, the occupant of the Yi'nan tomb was likely to have been not only a stalwart Confucian but also a believer in, and possible practitioner of, the magical arts and exorcism.

The fourth and fifth chapters address problems of interpretation. Here it is argued that the axially oriented Yi'nan tomb and spatial arrangement of the imagery in three of the eight chambers are based on Han views of cosmology. The physical structure of this cosmology, which is organized according to the four cardinal directions and the center, is embedded in the design of artifacts from the Han period, and is used to elucidate the principles underlying the evocative use of space in the tomb. I also argue that the orientation of the imagery demonstrates that the intended audience was the deceased male and female located in the northern rear chamber.

From this point of view the imagery can be described as reflecting the occupants' private beliefs and concerns about the transition from death to the afterlife, the soul's place in the cosmos and influence upon the living. The legendary sages and historical heroes represented on the upright slabs flanking the doors of the central chamber are usually discussed in terms of their roles as Confucian moral exemplars. Official sources indicate that they were revered at the state level as paragons of Confucian statecraft and morality. Though certainly evocative of Confucian moral and behavioral codes, the historical and legendary personages represented on the slabs may also have been intended to play the role of protective deity. Unofficial sources such as burial documents and mirror inscriptions indicate that they were also propitiated and revered at the local level as supernatural beings able to both harass the living and the dead and intervene on their behalf. My reading of these figures as playing the latter role in the Yi'nan tomb is derived not only from their physical location in the tomb and their juxtaposition with other imagery but also from the mode of representation.

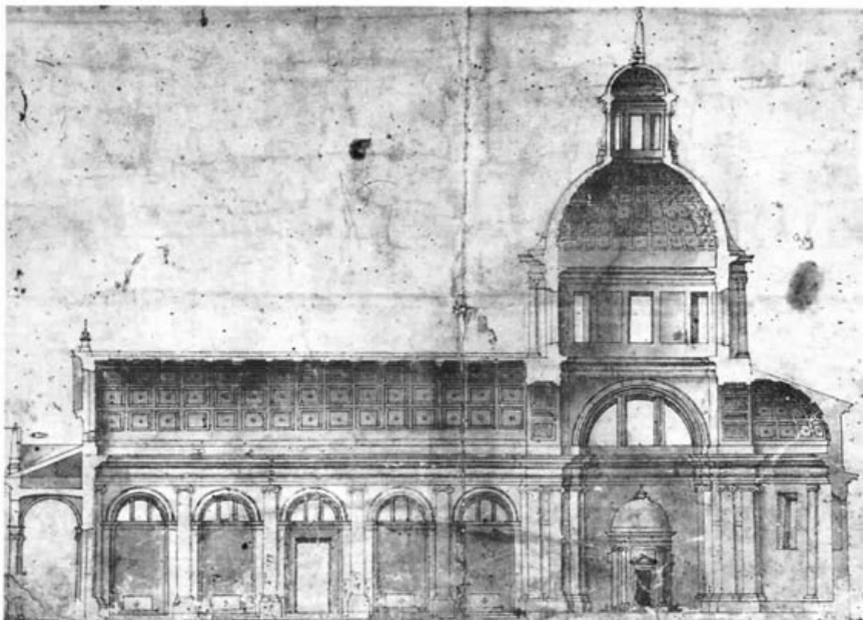
[New York University, Institute of Fine Arts]
Ittleson Fellow, 1993-1995

T. BARTON THURBER

Renaissance and Baroque Architecture

During the past year as a postdoctoral fellow I divided my time between working on curatorial projects and developing my own researches into conference papers and publications.

With regard to curatorial duties, I assisted in the organization and preparation of the exhibition *Italian Renaissance Architecture: Brunelleschi, Sangallo, Michelangelo—The Cathedrals of Florence and Pavia, and St. Peter's, Rome* (National Gallery of Art, Washington, 18 December 1994–19 March 1995). Specifically, I was responsible for writing the wall texts that accompanied each object in the show, and the various introductory panels that described the background and evolution of each major project. These texts were combined, edited, and published as a brochure. Working directly with the fourteen models on display, as well as the numerous drawings, prints, and medals, I encountered the challenges of writing entries that would be informative yet accessible to a diverse audience. Through this experience I gained understanding of the planning, organization, and installation of a large-scale exhibition, and of the complexities involved in the borrowing and display of two- and three-dimensional objects.



Pellegrino Tibaldi, *Longitudinal section of the Sanctuary of Caravaggio*, c. 1570–1571. Biblioteca Ambrosiana, Milan

A second curatorial project was the preparation of a future exhibition of the drawings and works of Filippo Juvarra, under the direction of Henry A. Millon and Andrew Robison. Juvarra's numerous drawings present a unique exhibition problem since many of them are bound in albums assembled by the artist himself. A primary issue is how to display both the variety of his drafting styles and the range of his artistic works using a limited number of albums. Preparatory sketches, detailed studies, and presentation and contract drawings all need to be represented to reveal the complexity and diversity of Juvarra's draftsmanship. Although the final organization of the exhibition remains under discussion, the multifarious issues involved in this project have clarified for me the reciprocal relationship between curatorial and scholarly problems.

In addition I prepared three conference papers, an article, and a book proposal. These projects focused essentially on the architecture of Pellegrino Tibaldi, who worked as an architect throughout northern Italy from 1563 to 1586. In conjunction with the curatorial work, I reexamined Tibaldi's drawings and the development of some of his architectural ideas. Specifically in the case of the Sanctuary at Caravaggio, I analyzed the changing programmatic and aesthetic criteria through an in-depth investigation of the architect's surviving reports, drawings, and a later model of the building. I discovered that Tibaldi made different types of drawings for various projects, depending on the degree of his involvement: when he was consulted only periodically, the architect generally prepared a complete set of drawings of the overall design, but did not focus on details; when he was on site regularly, however, he developed many more large-scale drawings focusing on the execution of individual architectural features. Thus my curatorial experiences contributed directly to the examination of the extant visual documents surrounding Tibaldi's architectural work.

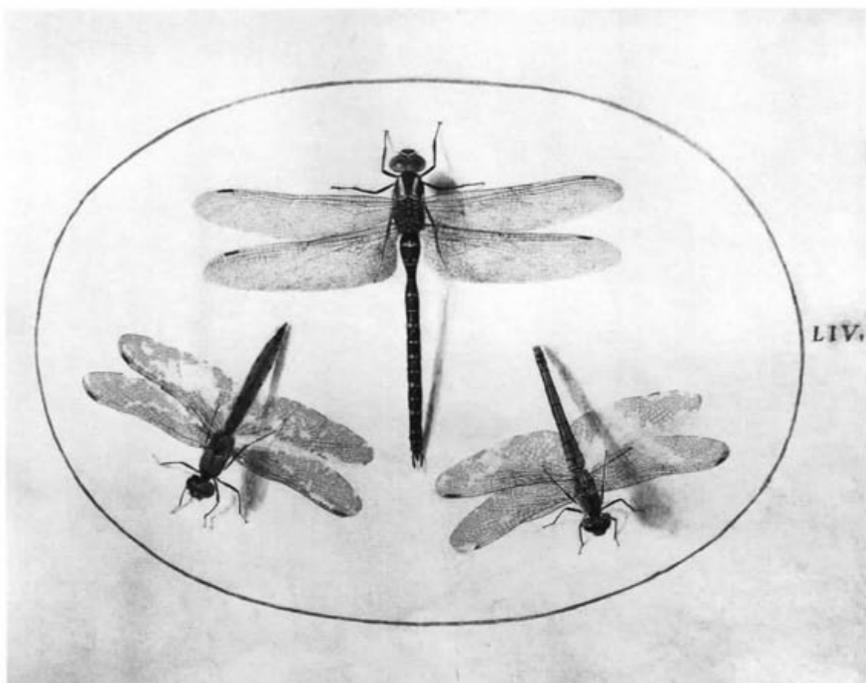
National Gallery of Art, Department of Prints, Drawings, Photographs,
and Sculpture
Samuel H. Kress Postdoctoral Curatorial Fellow, 1994–1995

“Hortus philosophicus”: *The Humanist’s View of Nature in the Era of Erasmus*

At the end of the sixteenth century a number of outstanding artists showed an increasing interest in depicting flowers and small animals. The representations of flowers were not restricted to the depiction of new and exceptional specimens, common wildflowers were depicted and esteemed equally. As for the small animals and insects, little attention heretofore has been paid to them. At this time they acquired a new and important position, which cannot be sufficiently explained by the tradition of the naturalistic flowers and insects strewn in the margins of late fifteenth- and early sixteenth-century Ghent-Bruges manuscripts; nor by the rise of botany and entomology in this period; nor by the so-called Dürer Renaissance.

The approach to plants and small animals seen in the works of the French Huguenot refugee Jacques le Moyne de Morgues in London, Joris Hoefnagel in his last ten years in Frankfurt and Vienna, Jacques de Gheyn in the early years of his career in Leiden and The Hague, and other artists in paintings on vellum is related, and differs from previous depictions of nature. Nature is shown in still life-like close-up, stressing the individuality and colorful beauty of the objects. For the philosophical artist Hoefnagel this “zooming in,” and the naturalism and symmetry in representing single objects or compositions (as can be seen particularly in his book of insects, *Ignis*, of the *Four Elements* in the National Gallery of Art, Washington, and in the *Mira* of the J. Paul Getty Museum, Malibu) do not constitute the ultimate goal, but are the consequence of trying to unveil in the objects’ structure the laws of creation in order to gain understanding of the “plan” of the universe.

Neoplatonism, which influenced Renaissance visual arts in many fields in the sixteenth century, also greatly influenced ways of reflecting on nature. If the outward appearance of nature was understood as the emanation of ideas, of archetypes, then the piercing, penetrating study of the appearances of the individual object became a means to gain insight into the “architecture” of the whole cosmos. The artistic picture of nature enabled man to climb the stepladder toward the Divine through sensual and intellectual experience, ending in the direct contemplation of the Divine. The Neoplatonic view of nature was interspersed with Christian thinking rooted in the Bible and the Fathers of the Church, especially in Saint Augustine. In the sixteenth century Erasmus of Rotterdam absorbed equally classical and Christian thought, compiling and synthesizing it. In his *Convivium religiosum* of the *Colloquia familiaria*, which transformed in a Christian way Plato’s *Symposium* and Pliny’s descriptions of gardens, the gardens of the host play a key role: each garden is a “philosophical garden,” and its plants have significance on a higher level. Erasmus’ relation to nature was purely literary. His writing, however, had great influence on the view of nature and its representation.



Joris Hoefnagel, *Animalia Rationalia et Insecta*. From *The Four Elements: Ignis* (c. 1575/1580), vol. 1, pl. 54. National Gallery of Art, Washington, Gift of Mrs. Lessing J. Rosenwald

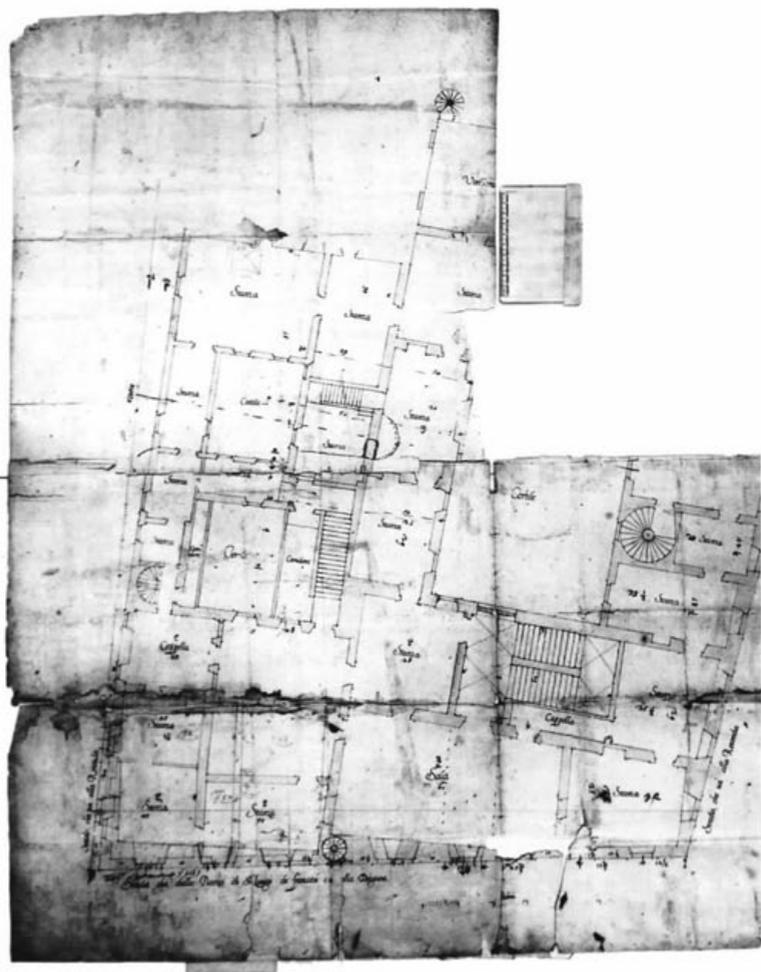
Hoefnagel quotes parts of the *Convivium religiosum* in two of his cabinet miniatures; his friend, the pharmacist Joachim Camerarius quotes Erasmus several times in the mottoes of his emblem book. Carolus Clusius, one of Camerarius' main correspondents, intended to give the botanical garden of Leiden University the name of "hortus philosophicus" and Camerarius again gave a book published in 1588 the title *Hortus medicus et philosophicus* to show that plants, apart from their practical use, are considered a starting point for philosophy. Justus Lipsius, too, saw his garden mainly as a place of contemplation. Part of Camerarius' four-volume emblem book *Symbolorum et emblematum ex re herbaria desumptorum centuria una*, 1590, dealing exclusively with plants, points in the same direction.

More puzzling than the interest in plants is the interest in insects, till then mostly regarded as not worthy of depiction. The first work on insects can be seen in a book titled *Archetypa* (Frankfurt, 1592) with engravings by Jacob Hoefnagel after the model book of his father, Joris. Joris, too, had used his model book to paint the miniatures of the *Four Elements*. The element *Ignis* is almost entirely represented by insects. As in the *Archetypa*, the insects in *Ignis* are commented upon

by aphorisms showing that they need to be seen in a Christian-philosophical way. Here, as in the plants, the intention of the artist-philosopher was to find in the smallest creatures the answer to the enigma of the universe: "in minimis maxima est conspicua." Joris Hoefnagel was not alone in his attention to insects. In 1590 Thomas Mouffet in a letter to his friend Clusius (University Library, Leiden) tells that his book on insects will be completed in the near future. The work was published posthumously in 1634, but Mouffet's preface indicates the reason for his interest in insects: "It will be easy to observe that the divine force and power show themselves more effectually in mean things, and they are far more miraculous than those things the world with open mouth admires." In connecting insects with the element *Ignis*, Joris Hoefnagel assigns them the highest rank of creatures.

In late sixteenth-century northern Europe, nature was made into a medium for reflection on creation and the Divine. As their texts demonstrate, the flower books by Le Moyne and Joris Hoefnagel were meant for Christian contemplation. The development of the flower piece before 1600 seems to be essentially a non-Catholic matter: Le Moyne, under the patronage of the mother of Philip Sidney, who died for the sake of the protestant Dutch Republic in 1586, had left his country for religious reasons, as had Hoefnagel and Clusius. The rise of the flower piece can be seen against the background of Calvinistic hostility to cult painting and Erasmian religious Eireinism. This resulted in a religious and philosophical attitude that created its own pictorial repertoire.

Staatliche Graphische Sammlung München
Ailsa Mellon Bruce Visiting Senior Fellow, spring 1995



Anonymous with overdrawing by Francesco Borromini, Palazzo Giustiniani, Rome, piano nobile in 1650, with proposal for remodeling by Borromini (Arch. Giustiniani, busta 10, fasc. 27, dis. 27/2). Archivio di Stato, Rome

PATRICIA WADDY

Palazzo and Casa in Seventeenth-Century Rome

This year's project is part of an ongoing study of palaces and houses in seventeenth-century Rome. Previously, I was able to define both the general and the specific programs of some of the largest palaces in Rome—for example, Palazzo Barberini and Palazzo Borghese—and to study their designs over the course of about a century in some detail. Such buildings are characterized not only by their large size but also by distinctive linear apartments for the reception of guests according to Roman diplomatic etiquette; specific functional provisions for a large household staff; the accommodation of coaches and horses of both residents and guests; painted decoration; chapels and other special rooms; and an imposing exterior and commanding presence in the neighborhood. Individual architects approached the planning of such palaces with sometimes-distinctive artistry. At the other end of the hierarchy are the smallest, vernacular rowhouses, which nevertheless share with the great palaces a plastic, mural character and an "organic" history of change and adaptation over the years.

During the fellowship year I have investigated some smaller palaces and larger houses which stand between those two poles, with respect to four specific architectural issues. The first is the matter of use: how far down into the social hierarchy do the functional requirements of the great palaces extend, and what sorts of modifications in planning do we see as the rank of the owner varies? Here it seems that the critical characteristic is not scale, or size of household staff, or quality of painted decoration, or the accommodation of horses and carriages, but the inclusion of the distinctive linear apartment, which is correlated precisely with the rank of the owner who would require the reception of guests according to Roman etiquette. The second issue is that of the organic growth and development so characteristic of Roman palaces. Some remodelings come about as a consequence of changing functional requirements; others can be correlated with changes in the status or structure of the family; others may have to do with shifts in taste, or with specific interests and aspirations of the owner. Growth was facilitated by the bull of Gregory XIII, promulgated in 1574, which laid out the procedures for the acquisition of smaller properties by their larger neighbors; but actual strategies for finding a new form in the circumstances of the existing structure were matters of design. Indeed, this leads to the third issue—the identification of the particular artistry, or styles, in individual architects' planning of palaces. The fourth issue is the possibility of influences or references from one palace to another in the rich architectural culture of Rome, which may have to do either with architects who were aware of what their colleagues were doing, or with owners who wished to ally themselves with (or distinguish themselves from) others through their buildings.

My original proposal was to focus on four palaces with which Francesco

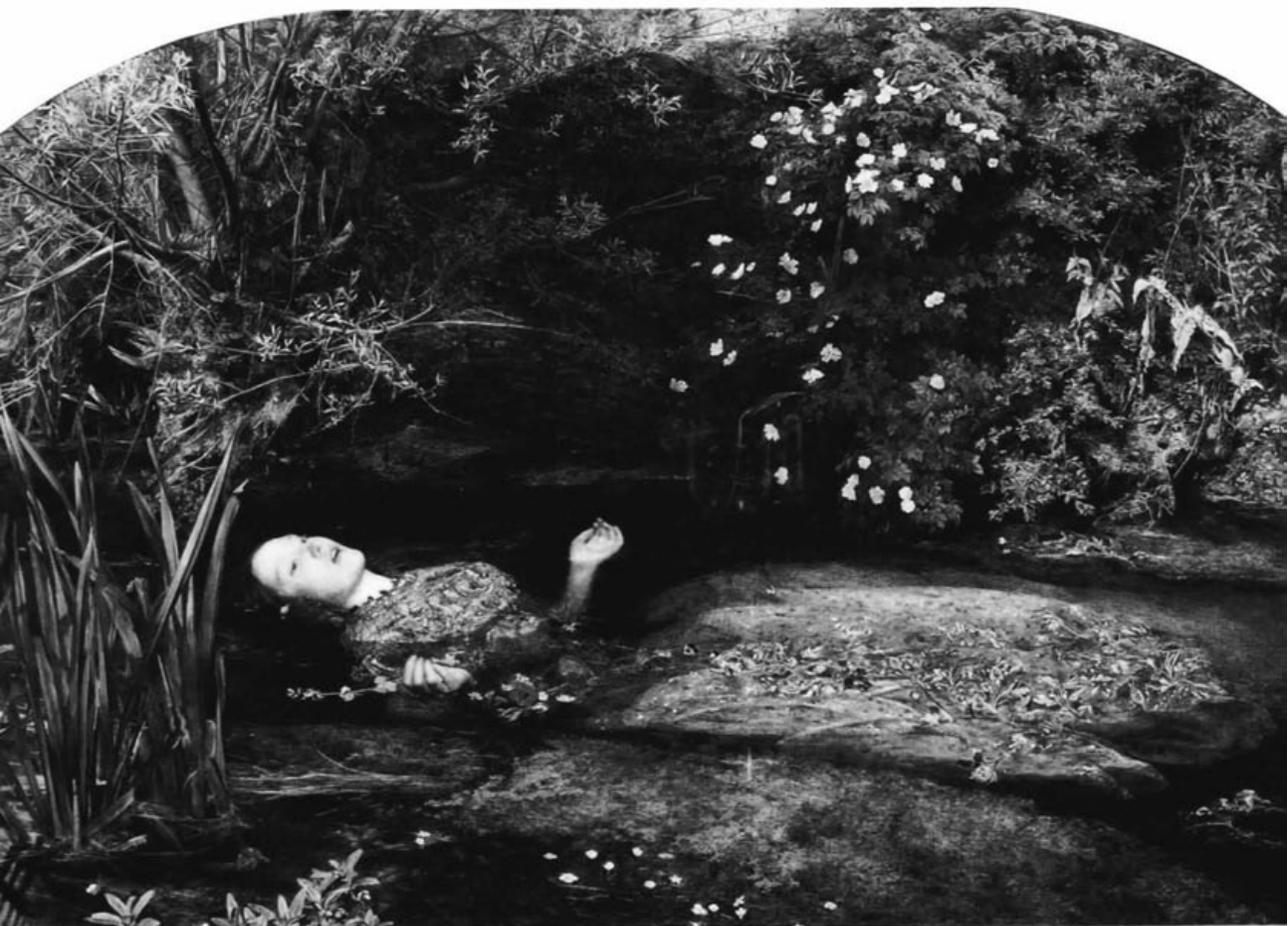
Borromini was involved, Palazzi Giustiniani, Falconieri, Carpegna, and Spada (thereby highlighting the third issue). As the archival work for the project developed, however, I found materials on some smaller houses owned by the Giustiniani and on the buildings of the Del Bufalo family (who were cousins of the Pamphili and Giustiniani). Of special interest is the house of Giacinto del Bufalo, who was active in civic government, serving as conservator of the city in 1649 and as *maestro delle strade* in 1650–1651 and 1659–1661. These materials enabled me to increase the social range of the project while reconceptualizing the matter of interconnections among buildings within the framework of the rather complicated Del Bufalo-Pamphili-Giustiniani family structure.

The drawing for Palazzo Giustiniani published here for the first time, one of a series that survives in the Archivio di Stato in Rome (Arch. Giustiniani, busta 10, fasc. 27, dis. 27/2), illustrates issues of function, remodeling, and authorship in an “organic” history of architecture. It is a plan of the piano nobile as it existed up to 1650, which Borromini has used as a basis for working out the first stage in the re-formation of the building. The building of 1650 is itself the product of growth: the palace inherited in 1638 by Andrea Giustiniani from his kinsman, the great collector Vincenzo Giustiniani, was augmented by a number of rooms, courtyards, and stairs to the north (left), probably by the simple incorporation of pre-existing, small-scale neighboring houses. In this drawing Borromini proposes the first step in a judicious adjustment according to a long-range strategy. The old rooms of Vincenzo’s palace will be maintained and incorporated with only minor changes in a new, larger-scale, formally-coherent design. Although the work in the first stage will be concentrated in the northwest corner, indications of the larger design are already present. First, the perimeter of the building will be unified and regularized by straightening the north façade and shifting window openings along the west side. The point in the north façade marked “mezzo,” where a new portal will be located, indicates that the building will be considerably enlarged to the east, requiring the acquisition of properties that Andrea Giustiniani did not yet own in 1650. In the northwest corner, a new rectangular room, measuring forty-one by fifty-seven *palmi*, will replace the cluster of smaller rooms over which it is drawn. Its size, its placement with respect to the old “Sala,” and the orientation of the doorframe in its south wall (quickly but positively drawn, and showing the primary direction of movement through the suite) indicate that the linear apartment will eventually be lengthened by an even larger *sala* to the north, in the area of the small courtyards and chambers; in other words, the existing principal apartment will be enhanced by an increase in both the number and the scale of its rooms. Particular stylistic features of the designer are the forming of the corner room as a regular rectangle, at the expense of conspicuously tapered walls (in contrast to the irregular shapes of some of the older rooms), and the precise alignment of doors and windows behind the west façade to produce a continuous vista. Further, the drawing gives us insights into Borromini’s way of representing a three-dimensional design, for he shows not only the large corner room on the piano nobile but also the two smaller rooms below it, on the pian terreno, with their

widths of thirty-two and twenty-three *palmi*. This drawing is very close to the documented construction of 1650–1651, the extent and nature of which my archival research have established; it must therefore postdate the several previously-published comprehensive designs by Borromini and immediately precede the beginning of construction in September 1650.

Syracuse University

Samuel H. Kress Senior Fellow, 1994–1995



John Everett Millais, *Ophelia*, 1851–1852. Tate Gallery, London

A Survey of Contemporary Critical Responses to the Paintings of John Everett Millais, for a Catalogue Raisonné of His Works

My project consisted of researches toward a catalogue raisonné of the works of the British artist John Everett Millais (1829–1896). Since the catalogue (to be published by Yale University Press) had been in preparation for a number of years, the bulk of the research was already complete. The main work that remained to be done was to collect contemporary reviews of Millais' works in Victorian newspapers and magazines, with a view to including selected passages from them in the relevant catalogue entries. I had been through a few of the main sources, notably the *Times* and the *Athenaeum*, but had collected only scattered items from the many other periodicals that covered the London exhibitions where Millais' pictures were first shown. The fellowship enabled me to make a systematic survey of critical responses to his work in the following: the *Art Journal*, *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*, the *Critic*, the *Examiner*, the *Fortnightly Review*, *Fraser's Magazine*, the *Illustrated London News*, the *Literary Gazette*, the *London Review*, the *National Magazine*, the *Portfolio*, *Punch*, the *Saturday Review*, the *Spectator*, the *Westminster Review*, and several others of lesser importance. Some of these were in the National Gallery of Art library or could be borrowed on microfilm, others required sorties to the Library of Congress.

Most historians who have read Victorian art criticism in any quantity would agree that the broad middle range is painfully wordy and bland. Even at its worst, however, it tells us a great deal about a vital issue, namely the reception of the work of art among its first audience—and just occasionally an insight into the meaning of the work will leap off the page. Among the hundreds of notices of Millais' pictures written as they appeared in the exhibitions, many of the most sensitive are by his friend William Michael Rossetti. Reviewing *Ophelia* (1851–1852), Tate Gallery, for instance, Rossetti writes: "The fair face is more than mad and calm as she floats singing to her grave, and the hands are more than helpless. There is a kind of fainting ecstasy in both, unconscious and inexplicable, as her eyes catch, perhaps, through some tangled canopy of leaves, a glimpse of the sky where she is to be 'a ministering angel'—the something more than its express intention which we recognize in all intense poetry." There are reviews that contain little of any use about the work of art, yet tell us much about the expectations of the reviewer and the crowds of exhibition-goers for whom they were written. The critic of the *Illustrated London News* found the same picture "objectionable simply on the score of the absurdity of the situation," pointing out that "if a person falls into the water backwards, the head has a tendency to sink first." All types and levels of criticism are telling in their own way, and the catalogue raisonné of an artist such as Millais, whose work attracted criticism in particular abundance, should include examples ranging from the sublime to the middling, even the ridiculous.

In addition to the reviews in British periodicals that I had expected to be reading during the fellowship, I discovered much interesting new material by French writers in the Gallery library. My starting point was Mary Ball Howkins' excellent doctoral dissertation on French criticism of British art in the period 1850–1870, which I read for the first time on microfiche. This made me aware that I had undervalued French reviews of the pictures by Millais that were shown at successive Expositions Universelles in Paris, and that my catalogue should include more references to and quotations from them. To continue with *Ophelia* as an example, Théophile Gautier writes that “in the charming puerility of its naturalism, this picture has something bizarre about it that may fit the subject better than a more rational conception.” A parody of the work appeared in the *Journal pour rire* (1855), Charles Blanc's review of the Exposition of 1867 contains a long and appreciative description, and an interesting comparison of the work to Delacroix's treatment of the same subject was published in the *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* (1873). These all will be noted in the catalogue entry on the picture. It is hoped that bringing together such critical writings in the catalogue, some represented by selected passages, others listed as references, may be useful to other scholars—not least in suggesting avenues of further research into Millais' art and its interpretation.

San Diego Museum of Art
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Jan Steen and the Strategies and Functions of Comic Painting

In his biography of Jan Steen (1625/1626–1679), published in 1721, Arnold Houbraken presented the painter, his life, and his paintings as witty, comic, and dissolute. Although later historians of his work frequently questioned Houbraken's identification of Steen's persona with the thematics of his paintings, most agreed that his paintings were riotously comic. Until World War II, most writers interpreted Steen's humorous art in an essentialist manner, as universally accessible without mediation. Since then, iconographers have historicized Steen's mode of comic by reading his paintings as pithy sermons in an amusingly colloquial guise. They also have tended to dismiss Houbraken's conclusion, that Steen's paintings were as his life, as slanderous drivel from a biographer with a classicist bias. My dissertation establishes that Steen's paintings indeed enact the antique prescription to "tell the truth laughing," but it also demonstrates that Steen's comic production worked in more varied ways. It suggests how Steen's frequently compromising self-portraiture conditioned early readings of his persona, and what purpose his pictorial identity served for the functions of his paintings.

In the course of three centuries of Dutch writing about Steen, the painter was gradually transformed from drunken prankster with an incorrigible tendency to paint lowly genre and burlesque history to good-natured paterfamilias, painting popular life from well above any of the mild abuse he represented. In the second half of the nineteenth century, Steen for Dutch viewers became the most complete interpreter of timeless national tradition and family life, the comic but respectable foil to the tragic Dutch genius Rembrandt. These vicissitudes of Steen's reputation were engendered by, and in turn instantiate, shifting notions of Dutch national identity over two centuries. Steen's nineteenth-century transformation occasioned the loss of interpretive clues contained in his first biographies, but it also returned a moralizing efficacy to Steen's paintings, a sharpness that Houbraken's emphasis on Steen's dissolution had blunted.

To gain purchase on the function of Steen's paintings for seventeenth-century viewers, I have reconstituted part of his audience on the basis of archival and sales catalogue data as well as biographical information about owners. Recent analyses of markets for various types of Dutch painting offer an interpretive framework for these data. Steen's customers belonged to a broad middle layer of Dutch society in his home cities of The Hague, Haarlem, and Leiden, and also in Amsterdam, the most competitive art market. Three Leiden collectors owned at least four paintings each, and their specific inventory descriptions suggest that the owners collected his works purposely. A prominent Catholic collector, for example, owned paintings of "popular" festivities that had come under fire from Calvinist authorities for their "popish" character. The sophisticated inventories and catalogues that



Jan Steen, *Girl Salting an Oyster*, c. 1658–1662. Mauritshuis, The Hague

contain paintings by Steen make clear that he could aim at least some of his works at pictorially literate viewers.

Steen addressed well-prepared and more anonymous customers with a finely tuned repertoire of comic strategies, thematic as well as pictorial. To tease out these comics means, I have reconstructed a seventeenth-century poetics of comedy from comic theory and texts, ranging from simple jokes and farces to elegant

comedies and epigrams. The bulk of Steen's work narrates the amusements of love and marriage, and these constitute the privileged territory of comic literature as well. But theme alone seldom renders representation comic. Like comic narrators, Steen used self-portraits, laughter, costumes, gestures, and a range of realist strategies to forge images of comic truth. The efficacy of these comic markers frequently depends on the subversion of serious pictorial conventions.

My interpretations of Steen's historiography, his markets, and his comic poetics are put to work in readings of his paintings on prominent themes, including lovesickness, birth and wedding celebrations, traditional feasts, rhetoricians, painting, and numerous historical narratives. These themes are situated historically by reference to their treatment in seventeenth-century literature and to recent studies of these situations and practices in Dutch society. This information suggests that the functions of different genres of comic painting, from the bawdy peasant wedding to the witty pun on painting, may have varied considerably, as these works presuppose diversely prepared viewers. Most of Steen's comic works, however, offered prosperous urban viewers safe enjoyment of the bodily pleasures and disorder they could never allow themselves in life, by displacement of such transgressions onto people of a lower social or moral order. But in their concision and meticulous execution, works such as the *Girl Salting an Oyster* sublimate illicit desires more actively than more explicit and less carefully worked scenes. Taking my cue for the resonance of salt in epigrammatic theory and sexual folklore, I have reinterpreted this work as an economical statement of Steen's pictorial practice. Its salty wit targets a viewer who could tease out the ambiguous play of pictorial and literary references, and gain added satisfaction for the privileged flavor of his (and probably not her) knowledge.

Like the *Girl Salting an Oyster*, Steen's paintings frequently challenge the beholder to think about the character and traditions of painting. Judging from the high prices his history paintings fetched early on, well-informed viewers must have marveled at his novel elisions of history and genre painting. With these works, Steen predetermined his long-lived reputation of incorrigible genre painter, unable to paint grand history. Contemporary tragicomedy and modes of history painting let me historicize Steen's brand of history as virtually necessitated by his comic self-identification. His comic practice also encouraged a genre-like portrait mode, straining at the borders of its genre with similar insistence.

I have cooperated extensively with Arthur K. Wheelock, Jr. and H. Perry Chapman, curators of the exhibition of Steen's paintings to be held at the National Gallery of Art and the Rijksmuseum in 1996. For the exhibition catalogue I compiled new provenance histories of the paintings. I also wrote a catalogue essay on the relationships between Steen's paintings and comic literature.

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